

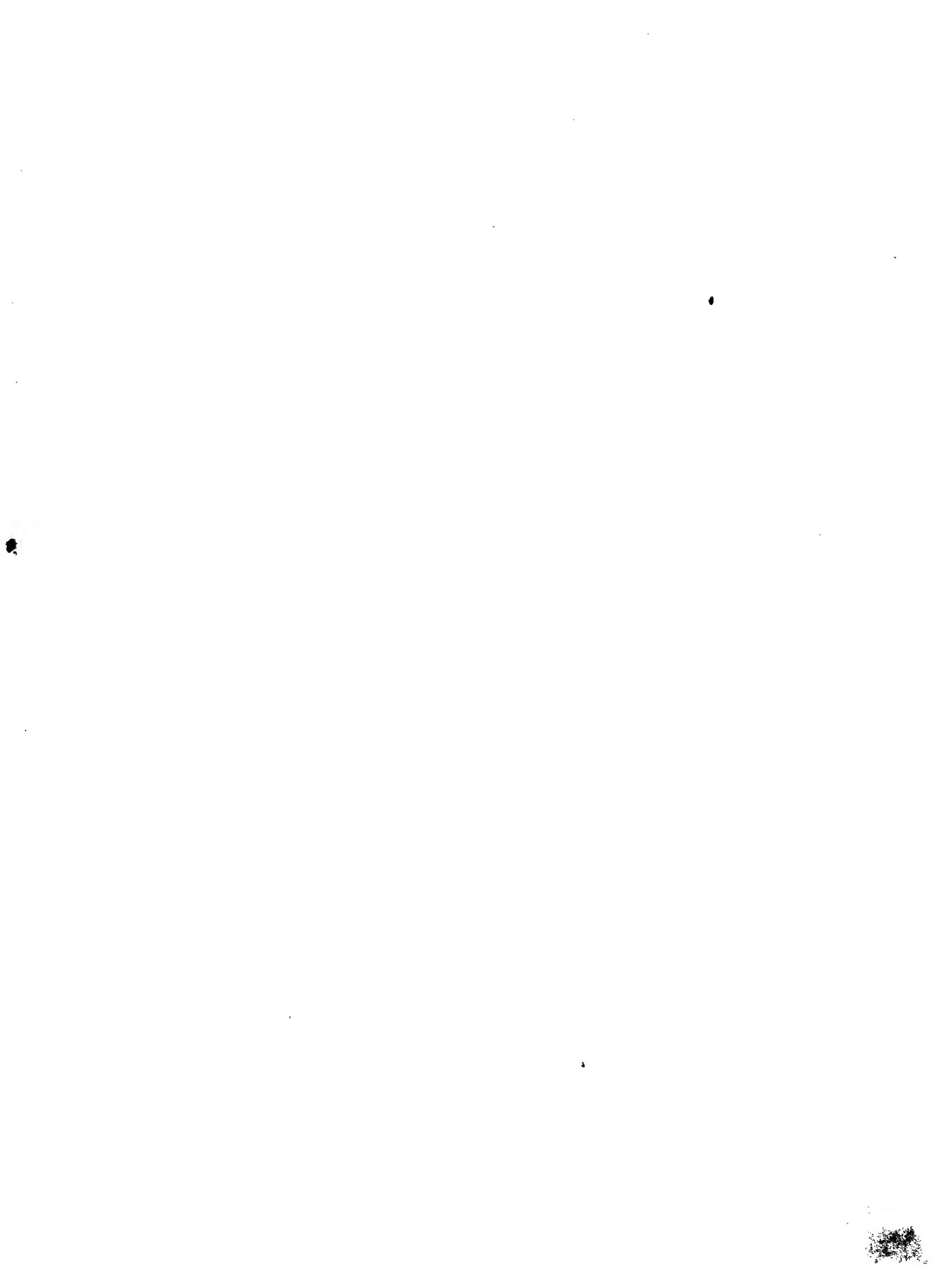
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ŚRĀVASTĪ IN INDIAN LITERATURE

BY

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SRĀVASTĪ IN INDIAN LITERATURE

Srāvastī, the ancient capital of the Kosala country, is one of the eight great places connected with the life of Buddha and is held in special veneration by Buddhists all over the world. It was the scene of the Great Miracle of Buddha and the monastery at Jetavana outside the city was for a number of years hallowed by the presence of the Master. Most of the sermons and sayings attributed to Buddha are stated in the Buddhist sacred books to have been delivered during the Master's sojourn at the Jetavana monastery.

INTRODUCTION

IN the following pages an attempt has been made to present a picture of the holy site of Srāvastī from ancient Indian literature. The literary materials which lie scattered in Brahmanical, Buddhist and Jaina texts and commentaries, as also in the itineraries of the two celebrated Chinese pilgrims, Fā-Hien and Hiuen Tsang, have been brought together in a handy form so as to render them useful to the archaeologist and the student of history.

Saheth-Maheth¹ is the modern equivalent of the site of Srāvastī of ancient fame. Saheth, the first member of the twin name, is applied to the site of Jetavana, while Maheth, the second name, denotes the much larger site of the walled city of Srāvastī. The name Saheth-Maheth thus denotes not only the site of the city proper with that of Jetavana but also the adjoining areas of archaeological importance.

The entire site lies on the borders of Gonda and Bahraich districts of Oudh in the United Provinces, and can best be reached from Balarampur, a station on the Gonda-Gorakhpur branch of the B. N. W. Railway. It is situated ten miles from Balarampur, with which it is connected by a good motor road. It can also be reached from Bahraich which is at a distance of about 26 miles. Just to the right of the road from Balarampur to Bahraich and not more than eight hundred feet away from the road lies Saheth, while Maheṭh is about one-third of a mile still farther.

The ruins at Saheth consist of the plinths and foundations of different monastic establishments and a few stūpas which are, more or less, in a well-preserved state. The remains of the surrounding walls and intervening spaces are covered over with weeds and small trees thinly distributed over the entire site. The site of Maheṭh with its high rampart walls all round is densely covered with an under-growth of shrubs making it almost inaccessible in certain parts. No ruins either

¹ This is the correct spelling of the name according to local pronunciation. Cunningham gives the name as *Sāhet-Māhet*, while Vincent A. Smith has *Sāheṭ-Māheṭ*. Hoey changes it into *Set-Maheṭ*. *An. R. A. S. I.*, 1907-8, p. 84. Saheth is phonetically connected with *Sāvatthī*, the Prākrit form of Srāvasti and Maheṭh seems to have been coined as a jingling companion, as so often found in Indian place names.

of the royal palace or of any residential houses have yet been traced. The present remains consist of a few Brahmanical and Jain temples, and mediæval tombs, all built apparently on the remains of older Buddhist religious edifices. A number of gates give access to the site through the walled enclosure, of which only four appear to have been the original gates. The outlying areas show brick remains and unimportant mounds. Excavations at the mounds of Sahet and Mahet were first started by General Cunningham in January 1863. He discovered the famous Bodhisattva image set up by Bhikshu Ba-la in one of the ruined shrines of Sahet, the dedicatory inscription of which went to confirm his identification of Sahet with Jetavana and Mahet with the city of Śrāvastī. His first operations were followed up by Mr. W. C. Benet, C. S., who apparently did some digging at the Pakkī Kuṭī mound.¹ Cunningham resumed his explorations at Sahet in 1876, in course of which he exposed some sixteen distinct buildings, mostly stūpas and small shrines of a comparatively late date. He identified the small shrine in which the colossal Bodhisattva image was discovered with the *Kosamba Kuṭī* mentioned in the inscription on the pedestal of the image, and the similar shrine to the north of this with the *Gandha Kuṭī*.

Almost simultaneously with Cunningham's operations at Sahet Dr. W. Hoey conducted excavations at Mahet, when he recovered some images from the ruins of Sobhnāth, the Jain temple in the western area of Mahet. In course of the more extensive explorations conducted by Hoey from 15th December 1884 to 15th May 1885,² a number of monuments both at Sahet and in and around Mahet were brought to light. He, too, identified some of the buildings with monuments referred to by Fa-Hien and Hiuen Tsang, but failed in most cases to give any convincing reasons.³ One of the important discoveries made by Hoey was a well-preserved stone inscription dated Sanvat 1176 (=1119 A.D.) and recording the foundation of a monastery by one Vidyādhara, a counsellor of Madanapāla, the Gāhadavāla king of Kanauj. The inscription was picked up from the courtyard of a monastery (No. 21) occupying the south-western corner of Sahet.⁴

Twenty-three years later, on the 3rd of February, 1908, Dr. J. Ph. Vogel started excavations at the site with the assistance of Mr. (now Rai Bahadur) Daya Ram Sahni and carried on the work till the end of April of that year. A detailed account of excavations carried out by them is contained in the Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Vogel describing the operations at Mahet and Sahni those at Sahet.

Vogel laid bare the rampart walls of Mahet and its different gates, and gave in his report a clear account of the extent and configuration of the site. Of the important mounds in Mahet, he explored the *Pakkī Kuṭī*, the *Kachchī Kuṭī* a stūpa to the east of the *Pakkī Kuṭī* and east of north from the *Kachchī Kuṭī* (stūpa A), the *Naushara Gate*, and the Jain temple of Sobhnāth. The most important finds made in the ruins of the *Kachchī Kuṭī* consisted of terracottas

¹ A cursory notice of Benet's excavations appeared in the *Gazetteer of the Province of Oudh, Allahabad*, 1878, Vol. III, p. 286.

² *Ind. A. S. I.*, 1907-08, p. 82.

³ *J. A. S. B.*, 1892, Extra number.

⁴ Now in the Lucknow Museum. Edited by Kielhorn, *Ind. Ant.*, XVII, 1888, pp. 61 ff.

of special interest from both artistic and historical points of view. A good number of Jain sculptures were recovered from the ruins of the Sobhnāth temple.

At Sahēth exploration work was restricted to the more important structures which had been left unfinished by Cunningham and Hoey. Vogel laid bare the remains of a number of monastic buildings, and several stūpas and temples. Among the finds were a number of important Buddha and Bodhisattva images in stone, datable from the 5th to the 12th century, a number of terracottas, clay tablets and sealings, and a few silver coins. But the most important find was that of an inscribed copperplate of Govindachandra of Kanauj which was found at the north-west corner of cell No. 23 of Monastery No. 19 under the floor. It furnished the most valuable data regarding the identification of Sahēth with Jetavana and consequently of Mahēth with Śrāvastī.

Excavations were resumed in 1910-11 under the direct supervision of Sir John Marshall who 'had the advantage of uninterrupted help from his Excavation Assistant, Pañdit Daya Ram Sahni'. He examined several outlying monuments, namely, the *Panahiyā Jhār*, the *Kharahuā Jhār*, the *Orā Jhār* and the *stūpa* at Bhiṭṭi: but his main objective was the area of the Jetavana garden. His efforts were directed to continuing the work of Vogel and penetrating at the same time to the earlier levels, where he hoped to find some tangible evidence as to the topography of the site during the earlier centuries of the Christian era. The valuable finds at the site consist of a few inscriptions and sculptures, a good number of coins, a fairly large number of inscribed seals and sealings, some terracottas with reliefs and interesting specimens of potteries and bricks.

The earliest set of epigraphs¹ consists of two inscriptions, both of which record in identical terms pious donations of Bhikshu Bala and belong to so early an age as the reign of Kanishka (or Huvishka). The historical interest of these two epigraphs lies in the fact that similar records of Bhikshu Bala are found also at Sārnāth and Mathurā. In connection with the inscriptions of Bala we may just point out two inaccurate renderings, *viz.*, in taking (1) the locative expression '*sāvastiyē*' or (*Śrāvastiyam*) to mean '*In Śrāvastī*' and (2) '*āchāryyānam sāvastivādinam parigāhe*' to mean '*as the property of the Sarvāstivāda school of teachers*'. The first expression which corresponds with the Pāli *Sāvatthiyam* should rather be rendered: 'adjoining Śrāvastī (*Sāvatthim upanissāya*)'. The second expression which is obviously a case in apposition with *Bhagavato chāmkrame* preceding it, must be taken to mean 'in the possession of the Sarvāstivāda school of teachers'. According to this interpretation, the expression characterised the entire site of Jetavana, and not directly the gifts made by Bala.

The Bodhisattva statue inscription of Sivadhara and his brother is an epigraph of the same early Kushāṇa age. In connection with the interpretation of this epigraph by Sahni (*An. R. A. S. I.*, 1908-9, p. 135 foll.), we may suggest that the term *Velishṭa* in the descriptive expression *Kshatriyānam Velishṭānam* stands rather for a *gotra* than for a place-name. We may also notice that the word *Bohisatrā* occurs as a plural and not as a singular form, which is evident

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 180 ff.

also from the plural from *kṛitā* in the expression *Bohisattvā kṛitā*. If so, one is to understand that the author of the inscription had installed not one, but several Bodhisattva images.

The next in point of date is a two-line inscription incised on the base of an image of Avalokiteśvara. It is in Sanskrit and written in Nāgarī characters of the 8th or 9th century A.D. Next comes the Buddhist stone inscription of Vidyādhara which is dated in Samvat 1176 (=1119—20 A.D.). Last comes the copper-plate of King Govindachandra of the same Gāhadavāla dynasty of Kanauj.

Among the inscriptions which are earlier even than the inscriptions of Bala and which have a bearing upon Śrāvastī and Jetavana, we may mention, in the first instance, the Sohgaura Copper-plate containing an order either issued by or issued to the *mahāmātras* of Śrāvastī (*Saratiyanām mahāma[t]anām sāsane*). Of the remaining inscriptions all are attached as labels to two of the Bharhut bas-reliefs. Of the two labels attached to the scene of Prasenajit's visit to Buddha, one records the name of the king (*Rājā Pusenadi Kosalo*), and the other refers to a shrine (*Bhagavato dhamachakram*). Of the three labels attached to the scene of dedication of Jetavana, the first refers to the act of dedication by Anāthapiṇḍika (*Jetavane Anāthapiṇḍiko deti kūṭi-saṃthātena ketā*), the second to the *Gandha Kuṭī* and the third to the *Kosamba Kuṭī*.

Among the sculptures found at the site, many are Buddhistic, a few are Jaina, and some are Brahmanical. The colossal headless Bodhisattva statues discovered by Cunningham, the seated Bodhisattva image, of which the lower portion alone with the pedestal was unearthed by Sahni, the statuette of Buddha seated on a lion-throne, and a few other fragments are the few specimens of Buddhist sculpture belonging to the Kushāṇa period. The material of all these sculptures is invariably the red spotted sandstone and stylistically they all belong to the Mathurā school of sculpture which developed, during the early Kushāṇa period, a distinctive artistic style of its own. In fact Mathurā during this period supplied images, large and small, to Sārnāth, Prayāga and Śrāvastī, and thus laid the foundation of that eastern school of sculpture which found its best expression in the age of Gupta suzerainty and had its centre at Sārnāth. The colossal headless Bodhisattva statue of Śrāvastī is artistically on a par with the Bodhisattva statues of Sārnāth, Allahabad¹ and Mathurā. The donee of the three statues, at Sārnāth, Śrāvastī and Mathurā, was one and the same person, the monk Bala; the material and style of the images are precisely the same, and it seems that they were the work of one and the same sculptor. It is highly probable that all the three sculptures were executed at Mathurā, and then carried to the respective places to be installed there. The seated Bodhisattva statue of which we have only the lower portion also belongs to the same artistic tradition and was similarly executed at Mathurā.

Of a somewhat later period (late 2nd or early 3rd century A.D.), but affiliated to the same Kushāṇa tradition, is the statuette of the Buddha seated on the lotus-throne. The sculpture has a very striking similarity in style and appearance

¹ The Bodhisattva statue of Prayāga is now housed in the Allahabad Municipal Museum. It bears an inscription on the pedestal and is dated in the 2nd year of Kaṇishka's reign. *Vide The Calcutta Review*, 1934.

with a seated Buddha image now in the Mathurā Museum. As Dr. Vogel suggests, "Both may well have come from the hand of one and the same artist." To this period may also be assigned the small fragment representing the lower portion of a small image of Bodhisattva carved out of red sandstone and executed in the usual style of the late Mathurā School.

It is well-known that the Mathurā school was to a great extent responsible for the early development of the school of sculpture at Sārnāth where Gupta art came to find its profoundest expression. But it seems strange that the four centuries (4th—7th) of the glorious Gupta tradition of either Mathurā or Sārnāth hardly left any trace at Śrāvastī except in the large number of terracottas recovered from both Sahēth and Maheṭh. In fact, no artistic remains of any importance belonging to the Gupta tradition have yet been brought to light from the ruins of Śrāvastī.

The image of Kuvera or Jambhala in spotted red sandstone is clearly an example of the later Gupta tradition that was at work at Mathurā. It had already acquired some early mediæval characteristics with the stamp of the later Gupta tradition. At about the same period may be dated the image of Avalokiteśvara seated in *ardhaparyanka* attitude on a lotus and flanked by two standing female figures. It has on it the same impress of later Gupta tradition not of Mathurā but of the eastern school of Sārnāth and Magadha.

The rest of the sculptural remains of Śrāvastī definitely belong to the mediæval tradition. The statuette of the Buddha seated cross-legged in *vyākhyaṇa mudrā* on a lotus, the granite relief representing the story of the offering of honey to Buddha by a monkey, and the three-faced head of Trailokyavijaya, etc., all may, in point of style, be said to belong to the 9th century A.D. and affiliate themselves to the sculptural tradition of the school of Magadha. To the same tradition may be ascribed the very beautiful fragmentary image of Lokanātha, the fragmentary blue schist image of Avalokiteśvara seated in *līlāsana*, the fragmentary image of Siṁhavāda Lokeśvara seated in *mahārājalīlā* attitude, and the relief representing among others an image of Tārā. Their facial and physiognomical type, their dress and ornaments, poses and attitudes, their decorative elements, and their style and technique bear so striking a similarity with the sculptures of the eastern school of Magadhan tradition of the same period that they may at once be said to affiliate themselves to the latter. The same is equally true of the two Brahmanical sculptures representing an image of Gāneśa, and another, a female statue broken into several fragments.

The Jain sculptures recovered from the *Kachchī Kūṭī* at Maheṭh represent a different art-tradition. The material of these sculptures is buff sandstone. It is not unlikely that they were the work of one and the same group of artists working under a common supervision. Considered from their general style and technique, their facial and physiognomical features, they seem to affiliate themselves to the mediæval school of Central India and Rajputānā.

After the 13th century Śrāvastī seems to have lost its importance as a centre of art and religion.

I.—ORIGIN OF THE NAME AND TOPOGRAPHY

Śāvatthī is the Pāli and Ārdhamāgadī form of the Sanskrit name Śrāvastī. According to Buddhaghosha, the city of Śāvatthī was so called because it was originally the dwelling place of Savattha the sage. Kākandī, Mākandī and Kosambī are place-names similarly derived from Kakanda, Makanda and Kosamba respectively. Śāvatthī was thus a religious settlement to begin with, and the city subsequently grew up around it. This derivation is suggested of course, by the etymologists or grammarians.¹ In other words, Buddhaghosha and other Pāli scholiasts sought to account for the form of the name according to Pāṇini's rule (4-2-69 : *tasya nivāsah*).

So far as Brahmanical literature goes, in the two Epics as well as the Purāṇas, Śrāvastī is said to have been named after its royal founder, King Śrāvasta or Śrāvastaka. All of them agree in crediting Śrāvasta or Śrāvastaka with the building of the city named after him, but differ as to the lineage of the king. According to the Vāyu Purāṇa, Śrāvasta was the sixth in descent from Vikukshi, son of Ikshvāku, and his father's name was Andhra.² In the Matsya and Brahma Purāṇas,³ however, Śrāvasta is mentioned as the son of Yuvanāśva and the grandson of Ādra (Andhra according to the Vāyu Purāṇa and Chandra according to the Bhāgavata Purāṇa⁴). The Mahābhārata represents Śrāvastaka as the son of Śrāva and the grandson of Yuvanāśva.⁵ Several kings of Śrāvastī are mentioned in later Sanskrit texts. The Harsha-charita,⁶ for example, refers to Śrutavarma who had once been the king of Śrāvastī. His kingdom is said to have been brought to ruin by his minister who had learnt the secrets from a Śūnya bird. The Kathāsarit-sāgara⁷ refers to a king Devasena of Śrāvastī. The Daśakumara-charita⁸ refers to another king Dharmavardhana of Śrāvastī who had a daughter named Navamālikā.

¹ *Papāñcasūdanī*, I, pp. 59-60 : *Sāvatthī ti Savatthassa ismo nivāsatthānabhātā naqarī, yathā Kākundī, Mākandī ti. (Tīkā : Kākandī—Mākandī—Kosambī ti). Evam tāvā akkharacintakā.*

Cf. *Paramatthajotikā* (*Suttanipāta Commentary*), p. 300 : *Sāvatthigmo ti evam nāmaka naqare. Tam kuru Savatthassa nāma ismo nivāsatthānām ukosi tasmā yathā Kosambassuturāsa Kosambī Kākundassa Kākundī evam itthilingarasa na Sāvatthī ti ruchchati.*

Dhammapāla in his *Udāna Commentary* (Siamese Ed.), p. 70, notes to the same effect : *Sāvatthigmo ti evam nāmaka naqare. Tam hi Saratthassa nāma ismo nivāsatthānē māpitattā Sāvatthī ti ruchchati, yathā Kākundī—Mākandī ti. Evam tāvā akkharacintakā.*

² *Vāyu P.*, ch. 88, 24-26 ; also *Viṣṇu P.*, IV, 2, 12.

³ *Matsya P.*, XII, 29-30 ; *Brahma P.*, VII, 53.

⁴ *Bhāgavata P.*, IX, 6, 20-21.

⁵ *Mahābhārata*, *Vanaparva* :

Viśvagāvah pṛthoh putras-tasmād-Ādras-cc-ja-jñivān
Ādrat-tu Yuvanāśva-tu Śrāvastasyātmajo'bhatat⁹
Tasya Śrāvastako jñeyah Śrāvastī yena nirmūlitā
Śrāvastasya tu dāyādū Brihadaśva mahābalū (201, 3-4).

Harivimśa :

Vistarāśeṇuh pṛthoh putras-tasmād-Ādras-tr-ajāyata
Ādrasya Yuvanāśva-tu Śrāvastasya tu c-ātmajah
Yajñe Śrāvastako rājā Śrāvastī yena nirmūlitā¹⁰
Śrāvastasya tu dāyādū Brihadaśva mahāyaśah (XI, 21, 22).

⁶ Kane's Edn., p. 50.

⁷ 15, 63-79.

⁸ The legend of Pramati, Chap. V.

There were two Śrāvastis and two Kośalas. The two Śrāvastis were Śrāvastī proper and Vanaśrāvastī¹ (*Vanasāvatthī*); and the two Kośalas were distinguished as *Uttarakośala* or Kośala proper and *Dakṣiṇakośala* or *Mahākośala* which formed a south-western division of the kingdom of Kalinga.

The Vāyu Purāṇa² and the Uttarakāṇḍa of the Rāmāyaṇa³ speak of the two Kośalas, and mention Śrāvastī as the capital of North Kośala and Kuśāvatī as the capital of South Kośala. The two Kośalas are said to have been once under the suzerainty of one and the same king, the Epic hero Rāma, who had installed his son Kuśa in South Kośala with its capital Kuśāvatī at the foot of the Vindhya mountains and his son Lava in North Kośala with Śrāvastī as its capital. This is, of course, to be treated as a later legend invented by fancy to account for the identity of the names of two separate kingdoms.

Sāvatthī figures throughout Buddhist literature as the capital of the kingdom of Kośala, and Sāvatthī and Vanasāvatthī (earlier name, Vana or Tumbavana)⁴ find mention as two important stopping places on the High Road

¹ To Dr. Radhagovinda Basak is due the credit for reference to a śloka in the Matsya as well as the Kūrmapurāṇa (E. I., XIII, p. 290) which clearly speaks of a great city built in Gauḍa under the name and designation of Śrāvastī (*nirmitā yena Śrārastī Gauḍadeśe mahāpuri*). Dr. Basak relying partly on this presumptive collateral evidence inclined to think that Śrāvastī mentioned in the Silimpur grant of Dharmapāla might be later Śrāvastī in Gauḍa. In this grant Tarkkāri, a highly noted Brahmin village, is located in Śrāvastī (*Tarkkāriyākhyayā śrāvastī-pratibuddham-asti*). Another grant of Dharmapāla contains a reference to another Brahmin village Kroḍaṇja (misread Krosaṇja) in Śrāvastī (*grāmāk Kroḍaṇja nāmāsti Śrāvastīyām*). The earlier Piākrit form of the name is met with in the grant of Indrapāla (*Sārvatīyām-asti Vai-nāmā grāmo*; *vide Kāmarūpaśasanārāli* by Padmanath Bhattacharyya). Pandit Padmanath, too, inclines at last to think that Śrāvastī was a locality in Gauḍa or Puṇḍravardhana (Journal of the Assam Research Society, Vol. II, No. 3, pp. 82-84). In connection with the Baudh plates of Raṇabhaṇḍadeva of the year 58, edited for the Indian Historical Quarterly (Vol. X, No. 3), Mr. Adris Banerji points out that in one of the plates *Takāri* (evidently the same Brahmin village, as *Tarkkāri*) is placed in Śrāvastīcā, while in a few other plates, it is placed in Madhyadeśa. Mr. Banerji has convincingly shown that, according to the *Divyāvadāna* (p. 21), Madhyadeśa included Puṇḍravardhana in its eastern limit (*pūrveṇopāli Puṇḍravardhanam nāma nagaram*). Mr. Jogendra Chandra Ghosh has recently published in the *Sāhitya-Parishat-Patrikā*, 134, B.S., No. 2, pp. 32-33, a comprehensive list of inscriptions referring to Śrāvastī as Śrāvastī, Sāvathi, Sāvathi, Śrāvasti-mandala, Śiāvastibhukti, or Śrāvasti-vishaya, together with the suggestion that it was no other than a distinct locality somewhere in Northern Bengal (*Uttarāvāngā*). Until a place-name corresponding with Śrāvastī or Sāvathi is discovered, the existence of a later Śrāvastī in Gauḍa or Puṇḍravardhana is likely to remain a subject of controversy. Here attention might be drawn to the following facts that have so far escaped notice:—

- (1) that in the Si-yu-ki of Huen Tsang the kingdom of Kośala is described as the Kingdom of Śrāvastī;
- (2) that in the *Divyāvadāna* which is a fairly late work as compared with the Pāli Canon, the city of Śrāvastī is located in Madhyadeśa; and
- (3) that in the same work (p. 402), Puṇḍravardhana is mentioned as the residence of Sumāgadhā, daughter of Anāthapindika, who was a citizen of Śrāvastī of Buddhist fame.

² *Vāyu P.* 88, 209.

³ *Rāmāyaṇa, Uttarakāṇḍa*:

Kośaleśhi Kuśīm Viram-uttareshu Larām tathā I
Abhishichya mahātmānāv-ubhau Rāmāh Kuśilarau || (120, 17).
Kuśasya nagarī ramyā Vindhya-parbata-rodhasi I
Kuśāvutīti nāmnā sā kritā Rāmena dhīmatā || (121, 4).
Śrāvastīti purī ramyā śrāvitā cha Larasya cha I
Ayodhyām rījanām kṛtvā Rāghavo Bharatas-tathā || (121, 5).

⁴ *Sutta-Nipāta, Pārāyanavagga, Vatthugāthā*, V. 36, simply calls it Vana (Vanasavhayam), while the commentary (*Paramatthajotikā*, Vol. II, p. 583) observes: *Vanasarhayan ti Tumbarananagaram vuchhati, Vanasāvatthin ti eke*. Tumbavana is identified with Tumain in Gwalior State.

starting from Rājagaha, the capital of Magadha, and extending as far south-west as the twin kingdoms of Alaka (Mūlaka) and Assaka, situated opposite each other on the two banks of the Godāvarī in the Deccan (*Dakkhināpatha*). Sāvatthī was really the meeting place of three trade-routes, one of these lay to the south-west from Sāvatthī, with its destination, the countries Alaka (Muṇaka) and Assaka¹ via Sāketa, Kosambī, Vana, Vedisā, Gonaddha,² Ujjenī, Māhissatī and Patitthāna (Paithan) on the Godāvarī. Another trade-route led to the south-east from Sāvatthī ultimately reaching Rājagaha (Magadha-pura) via Setavya (variant Sotāvī), Kapilavatthu, Kusinārā, Pāvā, Bhoganagara and Vesāli.³ The third proceeded to the north-west from Sāvatthī towards Gandhāra or Takkasilā in Uttarāpatha via Mathurā and across the desert of Rājputana : the Chulāniddesa giving a list of the places through which the north-western route passed.⁴ Mahākātyāyana seems to have followed the same route while coming from the Sindhu-deśa to Śrāvastī in the Madhyadeśa (Divyāvadāna. p. 581). From the account of Buddha's last journey from Rājagaha to Kuśinārā in the Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta, it is clear that Nālandā, Pāṭaligāma (later, Pāṭaliputta), Koṭigāma and Chīpāla (Pāvāla)-Chetiya⁵ were the intermediate stopping places between Rājagaha and Vesāli and Bhaṇḍagāma and Hatthigāma were the intermediate stopping places between Vesāli and Pāvā. The position of Bhoganagara mentioned in the *Sutta-Nipāta* remains uncertain, if it is not either treated as a description of Pāvā or identified with Bhaṇḍagāma. The High Road must have led the traveller to Pāsāṇaka-chetiya by a route which probably extended to Gayā and Uruvela, and ultimately so far as to meet "another route from the coast, possibly at Tāmraliptī, to Benares".⁶ There must have been another high road by which one could travel from Sāvatthī to Benares via Kīṭāgiri,⁷ and from Kīṭāgiri to Ālavi (Ardhamāgadhi, Ālabhi), from Ālavi to Rājagaha.⁸ It is evident from the Jaina description of Mahāvīra's wanderings in the Uvāsaga-dasao that Bārāṇasi, Kampillapura, Palāsapura, and Ālabhi were all important towns within the kingdom of King Jiyasattu⁹ who is no other than king Pasenadi, Pasenaji or Prasenajit of Kosala. All these places could be reached from Sāvatthī by convenient roads. Sāketa was a highly important city in the kingdom of Kosala from which one might travel to Kosambī across the Yamunā. Sāketa could be reached from Sāvatthī by a chariot drive with

¹ The *Sutta-Nipāta* reading Alakassaka Patitthānam (Pāṭīyapavagga, Vatthugāthā, 36) led Rhys Davids to suggest Patitthāna as the terminus station (Buddhist India, p. 103). But some of the manuscripts have rightly, Alakassaka-Patitthānam, a reading which tallies with the explanation in the commentary (p. 581) which speaks of Assaka and Alaka (Mūlaka) as two Andhra principalities apart from Patitthāna.

² According to the *Sutta-Nipāta Commentary* (p. 583), Gonaddha was otherwise called Godhapura.

³ *Sutta-Nipāta*, Pārāyanavagga, VV. 36-38. See also the commentary ; Buddhist India, p. 103.

⁴ f. *Apānaka-Jātaka* (Fausb. II. No. 1) and *Vannupatha-Jātaka* (F. No. 2); B. C. Law's *Buddhist Conception of Spirits*, p. 76.

⁵ For the spelling Pāvāla, see Barua's note, *Indian Culture*, Vol. I, No. I, p. 125.

⁶ *Buddhist India*, p. 103. For details of the road from Gaya to Benares, see Barua's *Gayā and Buddha-Gayā*, I, p. 114.

⁷ *Majjhima-Nikāya*, I. p. 473; *Kīṭāgiri nāma Kāśinam nigamo*.

⁸ *Vinaya-Chullavagga*, pp. 170-2, 175.

⁹ *Uvāsaga-dasao*, pp. 84-85, 90, 95, 105, 160, 163.

seven relays of the best of steeds (*satta rathavinītāni*).¹ Just as towards the south-west Sāketa was a town on the borderland of Kosala, opposite Kosambi, the capital of the kingdom of Vatsa, so also towards the north-east was the Kosala town Naṅgara or Naṅgaraka, just opposite and adjoining the Sakya town Uṇūmpa or Medalūmpa.² Besides Sāketa and Nangaraka, one may take note of Ujuññā (Uruññā. Udaññā) as another town in Kosala which is said to have been visited by King Pasenadi Kosala. But Setavya was not only an important halting station on the high road connecting Sāvatthī with Kapilavatthu but also an important town in Kosala, the official head-quarters of a royal chieftain named Pāyāsi (Jaina Pāesi).³

The Vatthupamasutta of the Majjhima-Nikāya mentions the Bāhukā (Mbh. Bāhudā), the Adhikakkā, the Gayā, the Sundarikā, the Sarasvatī, the Payāga and the Bahumatī as the seven sacred rivers of ancient India, in the waters of which people from all quarters bathed to wash away their sins.⁴ Amongst them, the Sundarikā was undoubtedly a river in Kosala⁵ not far from Sāvatthī. Payāga (evidently representing the confluence of the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā) must have determined the boundary of Kosala, if not actually included within this kingdom.

The Vinaya-Chullavagga sets forth a list of five sacred rivers, *viz.*, Gaṅgā, Yamunā, Achiravatī, Sarabhū and Mahī, all flowing ultimately into the great sea.⁶ Buddhaghosa adds Sarassatī and Mahānadī to the earlier list of five.⁷ Amongst these holy streams, the position of Gaṅgā and Yamunā in relation to the kingdom of Kosala has been indicated above in connexion with the river Payāga. The Sarabhū, identified with the Sarayū of the Rāmāyaṇa, is the river on the bank of which was situated Ayodhyā, the first known capital of Kosala.⁸ Similarly, the downflowing Achiravatī was a famous river in Kosala⁹ —the river with which we are vitally concerned.

The city of Śrāvastī was situated on the bank of the Achiravatī which nourished wheat fields on its banks.¹⁰ If Sāheth-Māheth on the south bank of the Rāpti be the modern site of Śrāvastī, it is positive that the Achiravatī of Buddhist fame is no other than the modern Rapti. It is interesting to note that the

¹ *Majjhima-Nikaya*, I, p. 149.

² *Ibid.*, II, p. 119; *Bhuddasālī-Jātaka* (Fausboll No. 465); *Dhammapada-commentary*, Vol. I, p. 356.

³ *Dīghanikāya*, II, p. 316. Cf. Jaina Rāya-pasenī.

⁴ *Majjhima-Nikaya*, I, p. 39:

“Bāhukām Adhikakkañ cha Gayām Sundarikām api,
Sarissatīm Payāgañ c' a atho Bāhumatīm nadīm
Naccam pi balo pakkhanō kañhakammo na svijhati”.

⁵ *Sutta-Nipāta*, p. 79: *Kosalesu viharati Sundarikāya nadīyā tire.*

⁶ *Vinaya-Chullavagga*, p. 239.

⁷ *Visuddhimagga*, I, p. 10:

“Na Gaṅgā. Yamunā chāpi, Sarabhū vā Sarasvatī,
ninnagā vā ‘chiravatī Muhi vā pi mahānadī’
Sakkūṇanti risodhetum tam malam idha pāṇinam”.

⁸ Raychaudhuri's *Political History of Ancient India*, 2nd Edn., p. 47.

⁹ *Vinaya-Mahāvagga*, pp. 190-1, 293; *Paramatthajotikā*, p. 511.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 191, 293; *Paramatthajotikā*, p. 511: *Achiravatīnadiśre ‘yavam rapissāmī’ ti khettam kasati.*

author of the *Daśakumāracharita* also knew that the city of Śrāvastī was situated on a river. This river seems presumably to have been the Achiravatī or Rāpti, though our author does not unfortunately name the river.¹

Adjoining the city and to the south of it was the garden of Prince Jeta, son of King Pasenadi Kosala. It is this garden of Jeta which was purchased by the banker Anāthapiṇḍika or Anāthapiṇḍada and converted into a Buddhist monastic establishment, traditionally known as 'Anāthapindika's ārāma in the garden of Jeta' (*Jetavane Anāthapindikassa ārāme*). When subsequently the Buddhist lady Visākhā, worthy daughter-in-law of the banker Migāra of Sāvatthī, constructed a new monastic establishment nearby, presumably at a short distance from and to the north-east of Jetavana, the two establishments became distinguished from each other as Dakkhinārāma and Pubbārāma. The earlier Chinese pilgrim Fa-Hien definitely places the Jetavana monastery to the south of Śrāvastī when he says: "Leaving the city by the south gate and proceeding 1,200 paces on the road, on the west side of it is the place where the Lord Sudatta (i.e., Anāthapiṇḍika) built a Vihāra".² He locates the Pubbārāma built by Visākhā six or seven *li* (i.e., a little more than a mile) to the north-east of the Jetavana vihāra.³ Hiuen Tsang, too, locates the Jetavana to the south of the city at a distance of five or six *li* (i.e., about a mile).⁴

The expression 'Sāvatthiyā Jetavanassa ca antare Achiravatinadītire', occurring in the Sutta-nipāta commentary is somewhat misleading as a description of the position of the river Achiravatī in respect of the city of Sāvatthī and the Jetavana monastery. It must not be interpreted as signifying that the river flowed between the city and the monastery, but simply that it flowed down at a small distance from both. The *Vinaya* description (ः *ahāravga*, p. 293) clearly brings out that the river was so situated in relation to both the city and the monastery that the inhabitants of both walked to the river to bathe at the same place and on the same side.⁵ According to Fa-Hien, the Jetavana monastery opened towards the east which may be taken to suggest that it was built facing the river. If this surmise be correct, the Achiravatī lay to the east of both the city and the monastery precisely as the modern Rapti lies to the east of Sāhēṭh-Māhēṭh. Going by this location, we are to understand that the Pubbārāma was built close to the southern bank of the Achiravatī.

The Jetavana and the Pubbārāma were the two well-known Buddhist monastic establishments and influential centres of Buddhism built in the life time of Buddha adjoining and to the south of the city of Śrāvastī. In the neighbourhood apparently of the same city was the settlement (*sannivesa*) called Saravana which was the birth-place of Gosāla Mañkhaliputta, the great Master of the

¹ Weber, *Ueber das Daśakumāra 'aritam in Indische Streifen*, Berlin, 1868.

² Beal's *Buddhist Records*, Vol. I, p. xliv.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. xlvi.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 4.

⁵ *Idha (Sāvatthiyā Jetavane Anāthapindikassa ārāme) bhikkhuniyo Achiravatiyā nadiyā vesiyāpi saddhim naggā ekatitthe nahāyanti.*

Ājīvikas.¹ The city was indeed the chief seat of the Ājīvikas who found their shelter in the potter-shop of Hālāhalā, a lay disciple of theirs.² Polāsapura was another important centre of the Ājīvikas.³ In the same city was the sacred site of Koṭṭhaka-Chetiya which became an early seat of Jainism founded by Mahāvīra.⁴ Other notable centres of Jainism in Kosala are said to have been the Koṭṭhaka-chetiya in the town of Benares, the Saṅkhavana in the town of Ālabhī, the Sahassambavana in the town of Kampillapura and the Sahassambavana in the town of Polāsapura.⁵

Śrāvastī was also an important and powerful seat of Brahmanism and Vedic learning, as it had an important Brahmanical institution under the headship of Jāṇussoṇi (*Jāṇasruti*)⁶. Other seats of learning in the vicinity were Tūḍigāmo, under the headship of Todeyya⁷; Opasāda, with an institution presided over by Chankī,⁸ Ichchhānaṅkala or Ichchhānaṅgala, with an establishment under the control of Tārukha,⁹ Ukkatṭha or Okkaṭṭha, under Pokkharasādi¹⁰ (Pushkara-sāti) and Sālāvatī, the seat of the institution of Lohichcha (Lauhitya)¹¹. Mana-sākaṭa was also a notable centre of Brahmanism in Kosala.¹²

II. KOŚALA AND ŚRĀVASTĪ

The prosperity of Śrāvastī is, after all, the prosperity of the kingdom of Kosala. This kingdom figured prominently among the four powerful monarchies of Northern India and its prosperity reached its zenith in Buddha's time. The history of this kingdom before the Master's advent is merely the story of its formation and steady rise through a prolonged struggle with its neighbours for supremacy, while that after the demise of Buddha reduces itself to a narrative of its decline and pathetic sinking into insignificance. Its last powerful king is referred to in Jaina literature with the exalted epithet *Jitaśatru* (vanquisher of the enemy, the conqueror), and in Buddhist tradition as Pasenadi Kosala (*Prasenajit Kauśalya*); Prasenajit, a name also met with in the Purāṇas, being

¹ *Urvāśagadadasāo* (Eng. Tr.) by Hoernle, App. I, p. 1.

² *Ibid.*, App. I, p. 4.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 105.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 160.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Chs. IV-VII.

⁶ *Dīghanikāya*, I, p. 235; *Sumaṅgalavilāśinī*, II, p. 399; *Jāṇussoṇi Sāvātthivāsiko*; *Majjhima-Nikāya*, I, p. 16.

⁷ *Ibid.*, I, p. 235; *Sumaṅgalavilāśinī*, II, p. 399; *Todeyya Tūḍigāma-vāsiko*; *Majjhima-Nikāya*, II, p. 196, III, p. 202; *Sumaṅgalavilāśinī*, II, p. 384; *Sāvatthiyā acidūre Tūḍigāmo*.

⁸ *Ibid.*, I, p. 235; *Sumaṅgalavilāśinī*, II, p. 399; *Chankī Opasāda vāsiko*; *Majjhima-Nikāya*, II, p. 164; *Opasādam nāmo Kosalānam Brāhmaṇo gāmo*.

⁹ *Ibid.*, I, p. 235; *Sumaṅgalavilāśinī*, II, p. 399; *Tārukha ichchhānaṅgala vāsiko-Suttanipāta*, p. 115; *Paramatthajotikā*, p. 462.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, I, p. 235; *Sumaṅgalavilāśinī*, I, p. 244, II, p. 399; *Pokkharasāti Ukkatṭha-vāsiko—Sutta nipāta*, p. 115; *Paramatthajotikā*, p. 462.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, I, p. 224.

¹² *Ibid.*, I, p. 235; *Sumaṅgalavilāśinī*, II, p. 399.

in effect the same as the Jaina epithet Jitaśatru.¹ The Kathāsarit-sāgara also refers to King Prasenajit of Śrāvastī who is said to have been born in the lineage of the grandmothers, Ambā and Ambālikā of the Kurus and the Pāṇḍavas (30, 23-25 ; 33, 133).

The Pāli *Kosala-Samyutta* speaks of five rulers headed by Pasenadi going together to *Pubbārāma* for an interview with Buddha.² They were all contemporaries and all evidently belonged to the kingdom of Kosala, in which case we have no other alternative but to think that four of them were subordinate rulers under Pasenadi.

Neither the text nor the commentary enlightens us as to who those four sub-kings were. It is certain that Kāśī with Bārāṇasī as its chief town became annexed to Kośala so as to enable Pasenadi to ponder over his kingdom in terms of Kāśī and Kośala (*Piyā me Kāśī-Kośalā*).³ The *Vinaya-Mahāvagga* alludes to Kāsika-rājā (ruler of Kāśī) who consulted Jīvaka⁴, the royal physician to Bimbisāra⁵, the king of Magadha, as well as to his son and successor Ajātasattu⁶. It is conclusive from this reference that Kāsika-rājā, as a contemporary of Jīvaka, Bimbisāra and Ajātasattu, was no other than a sub-ruler under Pasenadi who was a rival and contemporary of both Bimbisāra and Ajātasattu. If Kāśī was one of the four dependencies of Kośala, what were the remaining three dependencies ? It may, perhaps, be safely assumed from the Jaina list, in the *Uvāsagadasāo*, of five cities, in the dominions of Jitaśatru that each one of them was nothing but the principal town of each of the five components of the kingdom, Sāvatthī of Kośala proper, Bārāṇasi of Kāśī, Ālabhī of Ālabhī, Kampillapura of Uttara-Pāñchāla⁷ and Polāsapura of similar integral part.

¹ Hoernle in his note (*Uvāsagadasāo*, Translation, p. 6), observes : " In the *Sūryaprajñapti* Jiyasattu is mentioned as ruling over Mithilā, the capital of the Videha country (see *Bhagavatī-Sūtra*, p. 244). Here (*Uvāsagadasāo* Lec. I) he is mentioned as ruling over Vāṇiyagāma or Vesāli. On the other hand, Chedaga, the maternal uncle of Mahāvira, is said to have been king of Vesāli and of Videha It would seem that Jiyasattu and Chedaga were the same persons. The name Jiyasattu (Skt. Jitashatru) he may have received, as has been suggested (*Bhagavatī Sūtra*, p. 244, Ind. St. Vol. XVI, p. 316), by way of rivalry with Ajātasattu (Skt. Ajātaśatru) king of Magadha ". Raychaudhuri (*Political History*, 3rd Edn., p. 133) takes the *Uvāsagadasāo* references to Jiyasattu to propound a theory of his own : " Jiyasattu seems to have been a common designation of kings The name is given also to the rulers of Sāvatthī, Kampilla, Mithilā, Champā, Vāṇiyagāma, Bārāṇasi and Polāsapura ". That Jiyasattu was not a common epithet applied to all rulers but a special epithet applied only to one ruler is evident from the *Uvāsagadasāo*, Lecture VIII, where the ruler of Kājagṛīha, i.e., of the kingdom of Magadha, is said to have been *Senī rāyā*, corresponding to Pali *rājā Senīyo Bimbi-āro*, and *Ibid.*, Lec. I, where king Jiyasattu has been distinguished from *rāyā Kunie* (=Kunika-Ajātasattu of Magadha, son and successor of Senīyo Bimbisāra). It is impossible to think that in Buddha's time either Chedaga, the king of Videha and Vesāli was also the ruler of Kāśī and Kośala, or Jiyasattu, the king of Kāśī and Kośala, was also the ruler of Videha and Vesāli. The Jaina references are loose in the face of them, and their significance, if there be any, can only be sought for in the existence of an alliance of the king of Kāśī-Kośala with the eighteen *garuṇājās*, the nine Licchavis and the nine Mallakis, and also perhaps with the royal power of Anga against Kunika-Ajātasattu of Magadha pursuing an aggressive policy.

² *Samyutta-nikāya*, I, p. 80 : *Atha kho te pañchārājāo Pasenadi-paumukhā yena Bhagavā tenupasankumīnū*. Raychaudhuri (*Political History*, 3rd Edn., p. 133) simply quotes this reference in translation without attempting any explanation : " five rājās, Pasenadi being the chief among them ". Here the total *pañcha* (five), including Pasenadi Kośala as the chief, is significant as determining the number of sub-rulers under the king of Kośala.

³ *Majjhima-Nikāya*, II, p. III.

⁴ *Vinaya-Mahāvagga*, p. 281.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 276.

⁶ *Dīghanikāya*, I, p. 47.

⁷ Kampillapura is undoubtedly the same name as Kampillanagara which is mentioned in the *Kumbhakāra Jātaka* (F, No. 408) as the capital of *Uttara-Pāñchāla raththa*. See Raychandhuri's *Political Hist. of Ancient India*, 3rd Ed., p. 49.

Viewed in this light, it is easy to point out that the kingdom of Kosala was then bounded in Buddha's time on the east by the Gaṅgā and the kingdom of Magadha, on the north-east by the territories of the Vṛiji-Lichchhavis and those of the Mallas, on the north by the territories of the Śākyas, on the west by Sūrasena annexed to the kingdom of Avantī and on the south and south-west by the kingdom of Vatsa with Kosambī as its capital. It was divided from Videha, one of the Vṛiji-Lichchhavi territories, by the river Sadānīrā, doubtfully identified by Cunningham with Gaṇḍakī and wrongly by Pargiter with Rāpti.¹ An extensive kingdom like this cannot certainly be covered by the modern districts of Oudh as suggested by Ray Chaudhuri². From the Jaina reference in the Kalpasūtra and the Nirayāvalī to the existence of a powerful alliance among the nine Lichchhavis, the nine Mallakas and the rulers of Kāsī-Kośala,³—an entente of three powers, Vṛiji, Malla and Kosala, it may be inferred that the kingdom of Kosala was coterminous on the north-east with the Vṛiji and Malla territories put together.⁴

It is then in this maximum extension that the kingdom of Kosala occupied in Buddha's time almost the whole of the western half of the middle country as defined in Buddhist literature,⁵ excluding in the north Kapilavatthu and Devadaha, the territories of the Śākyas and the Koliyas as well as the land of the Kurus.⁶ It excluded in the south and south-west the kingdom of Vatsa. It is within these extended limits that it then flourished with its four dependencies, Kāsī, Ālabhī and the rest forming its fringes.

The Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmīki is purely a Kosalan epic praising in eloquent terms the kingdom and its inhabitants, the king and his sons and courtiers, the royal family and its high-souled chaplains, the city of Ayodhyā and its magnificence, and no less the river Sarayū and its sanctity.

The Pali Jātaka Commentary, on the other hand, is a classic to extol the past glories of the kingdom of Kāsī under the rule of the kings of the Brahmadatta dynasty, and only a few of its episodes narrate the sad story of its fall as a result of its repeated struggle with the neighbouring kingdom of Kosala. But barring the Abhidhamma Piṭaka, three-fourth of the extant Pāli canon stands out as Kosalan literature, mostly associated with Śrāvastī and its neighbourhood. The whole of the *Kosala-Samyutta* (*Samyutta-Nikāya*, Pt. I, for instance, is made up of highly informative and instructive dialogues between Buddha and King Pasenadi of Kosala. The latter half of the *Rājavagga*⁷

¹ Raychaudhuri (*Political Hist. of Ancient India*, 3rd Ed.), p. 33.

² *Ibid.*, p. 52.

³ Raychaudhuri (*Ibid.*, p. 87) is misled by Jacobi's translation in speaking of "the nine Lichchhavis as having formed a confederacy with nine Mallakas and eighteen Gaṇarājas of Kāsī-Kosala". We accept here Dr. Barua's interpretation which takes the expression 'eighteen gaṇarājas' as a totalling of the nine Lichchhavis and the nine Mallakas, Buddhaghosha (*Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, II, pp. 516-517) expressly referring to the Vajjis as Gaṇarājas.

⁴ *Majjhima-Nikāya*, II. p. 101: "Pasenadīm Kośalām Bhagavā etad avoca : Kim nu te, Mahārāja, rājā Māgadho Seniyo Bimbisāro kūpito, Vesālikā vā Lichchhavī, aññe vā patirājāno ti", which conclusively proves that the kingdom of Kosala excluded the territories of the Lichchhavis of Vesāli.

⁵ *Vinaya-Mahāvagga*, p. 197. See for the varying denotation of the geographical term Madhyadeśa (*Majjhima janapada*), Ray Chaudhuri's *Political History*, pp. 40, 44, 75, etc.

⁶ See *Dīgha-Nikāya*, II, pp. 55 and 290.

⁷ *Majjhima-Nikāya*, II, pp. 97-133.

containing such *suttas* as the Aṅgulimāla, the Piyajātika, the Bāhitika, the Dhammadhetiya and the Kaṇṇakatthala, is in the same category. The same king Pasenadi and his generals figure prominently in such later legends as those in the *Bhaddasāla-Jātaka* (F. No. 465), the *Viḍūḍabha-ratthu* (*Dhp. Com.*), the *Virūḍhakāvadāna* (*Avadānakalpalatā*), and the *Prātihāryāvadāna* (*Divyāvadāna*).

The *Pārāyaṇavagga* with the *Vatthugāthā*, as contained in the *Chullaniddesa* and the *Sutta-Nipāta*, belonging to the earliest known stratum of the Pāli canon, must be regarded as a remarkable Kosalan anthology. It vividly preserves the cultural tradition of Bāvari and his sixteen disciples, each of them figuring as interlocutors in each of the sixteen poems of which the book is composed. Bāvari was the highly venerated hereditary chaplain to King Pasenadi as well as to his father. He was well versed in Vedic literature. He led the life of a sage and hermit and lived in a hermitage with sixteen thousand resident pupils divided into sixteen groups of one thousand each, each group having been placed under one of the sixteen chief disciples.¹ His hermitage was built in the kingdom of Assaka and in the neighbourhood of the kingdom of Muṇaka or Alaka, on the bank of the Godāvarī² just at the point where the river was divided into two streams and where in the days of yore Śarabhaṇga and other holy sages lived.³ He walked south to the Deccan from Sāvatthī, 'the magnificent capital of Kosala'.⁴ The *Sarabhaṇga Jātaka* (F. No. 525) refers to an earlier age when one desiring to travel from Benares to the hermitage of Śarabhaṇga on the Godāvarī had to travel by a foot-track (*ekapadimagga*) under the guidance of a forester (*vana-charaka*). The *Araṇyakāṇḍa* of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, referring as it does, to the very same age, speaks of Rāma as walking south from Ayodhyā to Pañchavaṭī on the Godāvarī, from *āśrama* to *āśrama*, the hermitage of Śarabhaṇga being mentioned as a halting place not far from Pañchavaṭī. Already at the time of the rise of Buddhism there grew up a high road and spacious trade-route by which Bāvari was able to walk down from the Kosalan capital and his disciples could walk up as far as Sāvatthī and from Sāvatthī to Rājagaha halting at the stopping places mentioned before.

Some of the Pāli canonical texts speak of a number of pre-eminent Brahmins of Kosala who were 'old, aged, elderly and advanced in years'.⁵ They are called *Mahāsālas*, a term which is explained by the scholiasts as meaning 'rich and influential', 'mahāsāla' being treated as equivalent of 'mahāsāra', 'a man of substance'.⁶ This is just one aspect of their position. The *Mahāgovinda-Suttanta* refers to a *mahāsālā* as a Vedic institution for educating the *vahātakas*

¹ *Paramatthajotikā*, p. 580: *āchariyo Pasenadino pitu purohitassa putto jāto nāmena Bāvarī ti, etc.*

² *Sutta-Nipāta*, p. 190: *So Assakassu visaye, Muṇakassa sāmāsane rās: Godāvarīkūle uñchena cha phaleṇa cha.*

³ *Paramatthajotikā*, p. 581.

⁴ *Sutta-Nipāta*, p. 190: *Kosalānam purā rāmā agamā Dakkhināpatham.*

⁵ *Sutta-Nipāta, Brāhmaṇadhammika Sutta*: *Sambhulā Kosalakā brāhmaṇamahāsālā jīvñā vuddhā mahallakā addhagatā vayo anuppatṭā.*

⁶ *Paramatthajotikā*, p. 313: *Mahāsāratāya mahāsālā, yesam kira nidahitvā thapitum yeva asūtikoṭi-sāmākham dhanam atthi.*

(*snātakas* or advanced students).¹ Accordingly the significance of the epithet *mahāsālā* is that they were not only rich and influential but distinguished heads of Vedic institutions founded in different localities, such as Sāvatthī, Tudigāmo, Ichchhānaikala, Ukkaṭṭhā, Opasāda, Sālāvatī and Manasākaṭa already mentioned. The texts do not keep us in the dark as to how they became so rich and influential. With respect to each of the above localities where the institutions were founded and maintained, each of the heads is represented as dwelling in a place teeming with life, with much grassland, woodland and cornfields around, on a royal domain, the gift of King Pasenadi of Kosala with as much power over it as the king² himself.

This description is important as explaining how these great Brahmins of Kośala became rich and powerful because of certain permanent land grants and endowments made by Pasenadi. The Pāli stock list of eminent Kosalan Brahmin *mahāsālas* includes such names as Chaṇki, Tārukha, Pokkharasāti, Jāṇussoṇi, Todeyya and Lohichcha,³ each one of whom was established in a distinct locality with such control over it as regards the revenue and the judicial and civil administration of its affairs as was determined by the terms of royal grants and religious endowments (*raññā dinnāni Brahmadeyyam*).⁴ Chaṇki was established in Opasāda, Tārukha in Ichchhānaikala, Pokkharasāti (rather Pokkharasāti Opamañña or Pushkarasāti Upamannu) in Ukkaṭṭhā, Jāṇussoṇi (Jānaśruti) in Sāvatthī, Todeyya in Tudigāmo and Lohichcha (*Lauhitya*) in Sālāvatī. Each of them is honoured as a distinguished teacher of the age, well-versed in the four *Vedas*, the *Vedāṅgas*, *Itihāsa* ranking as the fifth Veda (*Itihāsa Pañchamam*) and the sciences useful to the people.⁵

The Pāli tradition of Buddhism also immortalises the names of some of their eminent disciples, such as Ambaṭṭha⁶ and Vāsetṭha⁷ of Pokkharasāti, Bhāradvāja of Tārukha,⁸ and Subha of Todeyya,⁹ Assalāyana being also counted among the eminent Vedic scholars of the rising generation.¹⁰ One is not to be led away with the idea that the number of pupils and disciples was restricted to one or two. For there is a clear indication in the text as to each of the *mahāsālas* having a large number of resident pupils under him (*mānavakā, antevāsikā*).¹¹ According to the *Bodhisattvāvadāna-kalpalatā* (ol.2) a Brahmin of Śrāvastī named Svastika took to cultivation to earn his livelihood. The same source tells us (52.20) that a Brahmin of this city was once fined by a king named Hiranyakarman.

¹ *Dīgha-Nikāya*, II, p. 236: *Sutta cha Brāhmaṇa mahāsāle satta cha nahātakasatāni mante vāchesi. Buddha-ghostu has altogether missed the sense. See Sumangalavilāsinī, pp. 662-3.*

² *Ibid*, I, p. 87; I, p. 224, etc.

³ *Ibid*, I, pp. 224, 235. *Sumāngalavilāsinī*, II, p. 399.

⁴ *Sumāngalavilāsinī*, I, p. 246.

⁵ *Dīgha-Nikāya*, I, p. 88: “*tiṇṇam Vedānam pāragū sanighandu-keṭubhānam sākkharappabhedānam itihāsa-pañchamānam padako reyyakarano lokiyatamahāpurisa-lakkhaṇesu anavayo anuññāta-paṭiññāto sake ācariyake tevijjake pārachane.*” See for explanation, *Sumāngalavilāsinī*, I, pp. 247-48.

⁶ *Ibid*, I, pp. 88-89.

⁷ *Ibid*, I, p. 235: *Sutta-Nipāta*, p. 117.

⁸ p. 235.

⁹ *Majjhima-Nikāya*, II, p. 196, III, p. 202.

¹⁰ *Ibid*, II, p. 147.

¹¹ *Dīgha-Nikāya*, I, p. 89; *Sumāngalavilāsinī*, I, p. 251: “*Manavakā ti Pokkharasādiss’ eva antevāsikā.*”

The Jānussoṇi-vagga of the *Ānguttara-Nikāya* is a Kosalan book named after Jānussoṇi of Sāvatthī. The same eminent Brahmin teacher prominently figures also in the *Bhayabherava-sutta* (*Majjhima-Nikāya*). Similarly, Ambaṭṭha has found prominence in the *Ambaṭṭha-sutta* (*Dīgha*), Vāsetṭha along with Bhāradvāja in the Suttas called *Tevijja* (*Dīgha*) and *Vāsetṭha* (*Sutta-Nipāta*). Lohichcha in the *Lohichcha-Sutta* (*Dīgha*), Chaṇki in the *Chaṇki* (*Majjhima*), Subha in the *Subha* (*Majjhima*), Assalāyana in the *Assa āyana* (*Majjhima*), and the rest in such Suttas as the *Ambaṭṭha*, the *Tevijja* and the *Vāsetṭha*. Among them, three at least, namely, Pokkharasāti (Pushkarasāti), Assalāyana (Āvalāyana) and Vāsetṭha (Vaśishṭha), gained prominence in the Sūtra literature of the Brahmins.¹ To this list may be added the name of Ghoṭakamukha (Ghoṭamukha) who figures in the *Ghoṭakamukha-Sutta* (*Majjhima*) and is quoted as an authority in the *Arthaśāstra* and the *Kāmasūtra*,² that of Sundarika-Bhāradvāja, the *Agnihotri* Brahmin who lived on the bank of the river Sundarikā (see *Sundarika-Bhāradvāja-Sutta*, *Sutta-Nipāta*), as well as that of Aggika-Bhāradvāja who appears in the *Vasala-Sutta* (*Sutta-Nipāta*).

Six out of ten lectures, of which the Jaina *Uvāsagadasāo* is composed are concerned with places in the kingdom of Kośala and the inhabitants thereof. This holds good also in the case of Uddesa I, Saya XV, of the *Bhagavatī Sūtra*.

Maskari Gosāla, the great leader of the Ājīvikas, was a native of Kośala. The Ājīvika canon, consisting of the eight *mahā-imittas* and two *maggas*,³ which was distinctly Kosalan literature, is now irrevocably lost.

The kingdom of Kośala could boast not only of Sāvatthī and its neighbourhood as an important and powerful centre of Buddhism but of other places as well, such as Sāketa, Ujuññā, Ālavī, Vāsabhagāma and Kīṭāgiri. The Deer park of Isipatan (Sārnāth) itself was included in the kingdom of Kośala. Kīṭāgiri, situated within the Kāśī area,⁴ was 'a very fertile tract with abundance of rain-water enabling it to yield three harvests of food-grains (every year).'⁵ In point of fact, so intimate and enduring was the connection of Kośala with the life and teachings of Buddha that Pasenadi felt himself justified in feelingly saying to him: "Bhagavā pi Kosalako, aham pi Kosalako," "The Blessed One is a man of Kosala, as I am."⁶

The Jaina legends in the *Bhagavatī* and *Nirayāvalī* sūtras bring Kuṇika-Ajātaśatru, the son and successor of Bimbisāra, before us as the ruler (or rather the viceroy) of Aṅga. It is probably at this stage that he picked up a quarrel with the Vriji-Lichchhavis of Vesālī. The origin of the quarrel has been well pointed out by Buddhaghosha in his *Sumāngalavilāsinī* bearing on Chapter I of the *Ārahāparinibbāna-Suttanta*. There was a mine or quarry on the boundary

¹ Barua's *History of Pre-Buddhistic Indian Philosophy*, p. 190.

² B. C. Law, *Historical Gleanings*, p. 14.

³ *Uvāsagadasāo* (Eng. Transl.) by Hoernle, Appendix I, p. 4; Rockhill's *Life of the Buddha*, App. I, p. 249, Barua's *Ājīvikas*, I, p. 42.

⁴ *Majjhima-Nikāya*, I, p. 473.

⁵ Barua in *I. H. Q.*, X, p. 63.

⁶ *Majjhima-Nikāya*, II, p. 124. Raychaudhuri (*Political History of Ancient India*, 3rd Ed., p. 70) construes the statement as implying something else which is not at all justified.

of the two territories and the arrangement was that the total output of it should be equally divided between the two powers. But the Vṛiṣi-Lichchhavis forcibly took away the total output in disregard of the terms of the treaty. A war ensued between Ajātaśatru and the Lichchhavis, and the former must have failed to gain victory over the powerful Vṛiṣi confederacy. This is anyhow a highly plausible explanation as to why in the very opening paragraph of the *Mahāparinibbāna-Sutta*, King Ajātaśatru of Magadha is made to appear dramatically as though on a stage, indulging in a soliloquy and expressing his grim determination to exterminate and annihilate the Vṛiṣis. The Buddhist narrative presents Ajātaśatru as a full-fledged king of Magadha, undoubtedly after the death of his father Bimbisāra. The Jaina legends above referred to however, indicate that the Lichchhavis of Vesālī tried to set up Vehalla, a son of Bimbisāra, as their own nominee for the throne of Magadha instead of Kuṇika-Ajātaśatru. The installation of Ajātaśatru on the throne of Magadha, as successor to Bimbisāra was equally disliked by King Pasenadi of Kosala, who forthwith deprived Ajātaśatru of his income from the revenue of Kāśī. To restore his rightful legacy Ajātaśatru invaded Kāśī with his army. A protracted struggle followed and a vivid account of it is contained in the *Kosala-Saṃyutta*. In the course of this battle, fortune favoured at one time this, at another the other party. Finally Ajātaśatru was defeated and carried as a captive to King Pasenadi. The war was concluded by a treaty of peace, according to which Pasenadi not only released Ajātaśatru but gave him his daughter Vajirā or Vajirī in marriage, granting the revenue of Kāśī as her pin-money. It thus appears most likely that the necessity of opposing Ajātaśatru's succession to the throne of Magadha drove the Lichchhavis, the Mallas and the sovereign power of Kāśī-Kosala into forming a strong alliance among themselves. The supremacy of Pasenadi over Kāśī-Kosala and the glory of Kosala as an independent kingdom were not destined to be of long standing. The downfall of the king forestalled the downfall of the kingdom. The coming events cast their shadows before and this fact has been clearly brought out in the *Piyajātika-Sutta* (*Majjhima-Nikāya*), in a homely conversation between Pasenadi and Mallikādevī, his wise queen. The gist of this conversation is that this last powerful king of Kosala had a foreknowledge of how certain impending calamities awaited all that was dear unto his heart, e.g., his beloved daughter Vajirī, his beloved wife Vāsabhakhattyā, his beloved general Viḍūḍabha, his beloved queen consort Mallikā, his beloved kingdom of Kāśī-Kosala. The same feeling of despondency on the part of Pasenadi is brought out also in the introductory episode of the *Kāliṅgabodhi-Jātaka* (F. No. 479) where the king having been requested to plant the seed of the Bo-tree near the gate of the Jetavana monastery declined to do so and insisted on having the work done rather by the banker Anāthapindika, thinking: “*Rajjam nāma na sabbakālam amhākām titthati, idam mayā Anāthapindikena ropāpitum vattati*” ti., “The sovereignty will not for all times abide with me; I should have it rather planted by Anāthapindika.” Kosala retained its position as an independent kingdom as long as Pasenadi lived. There is a clear Pāli canonical evidence to prove that Pasenadi was of the same age as Buddha and that both of them lived

up to their eightieth year. In the course of the last interview of Pasenadi with Buddha at Naṅgaraka, so vividly described in the *Dhamma-Cetiya-Sutta* (*Majjhima-Nikāya*) Pasenadi is made to say: *Bhagarā pi āsītiko aham pi āsītiko*, 'the Blessed one is in his eightieth year, so am I.' The episode of this interview has been illustrated in one of the Barhut sculptures, bearing the two labels,—*Rājā Pasenadi Kosala, Bhagavato dhamma chakkāñ*—one referring to the figure of the king of Kosala proceeding in a four-horse chariot to wait on Buddha and the other to the shrine symbolising the presence of the master. The king was accompanied by his general Dīgha-Kārāyana (Dirgha-Chārāyana). The Pāli Sutta closes with the peaceful departure of the king, and there is not the slightest hint that any calamity befell the king of Kosala thereafter. Later legends, however, continue the narrative and add a sequel to the effect that whilst the king was deeply engaged in conversation with Buddha at Naṅgaraka, his general Dīgha-Kārāyana, who was waiting outside, taking care of the royal insignia of the king, left the place with those insignia and set up prince Viḍūḍabha, a son of Pasenadi by his wife Vāsabha-Khattiyā, on the throne of Kosala, deposing the old king Pasenadi. These legends go further to add that Pasenadi walked towards Rājagaha to seek the help and protection of King Ajātaśatru and died of exhaustion at the city gate, while, on the other hand, Viḍūḍabha, the usurper, took the earliest opportunity of invading Kapilavāstu and exterminating the Sākyas to feed fat his ancient grudge. The legends fondly narrate how Viḍūḍabha perpetrated a ruthless massacre of the Sākyas who remained non-violent, carried the Sākyā women to his capital and cruelly put them to death when they refused to yield to his embrace. and all that in the very life-time of Buddha.

The authenticity of these later legends has already been doubted by Vincent A. Smith.¹ We may notice that the Pāli canonical texts have altogether a different tale to tell. In them Vāsabha-Khattiyā is nowhere represented as a slave-girl of the Sākyā chief Māhānāman, nor as the mother of Viḍūḍabha. In them Viḍūḍabha is everywhere mentioned as a trusted general (senāpati), like the other general Dīgha-Kārāyana and nowhere as a son of Pasenadi. The Sākyas remained an independent power till the demise of Buddha, for they are expressly mentioned in the *Mahāparinibbāna-Suttanta* as one of the rival claimants for a share of the bodily remains or relics of the great master after he had passed away at Kuśinārā. It is very strange, however, that there was no messenger from King Pasenadi or from any person in Kosala to claim a share of the relics. It is likely that certain internecine troubles in Kosala must have prevented the royal power of Kosala from standing as a claimant for the precious bodily remains of the Master. The two generals may have combined to depose the reigning king and seize the throne for Viḍūḍabha. It is also possible that the usurper king conquered the Sākyā territories as a first step towards the fulfilment of an ambitious programme of conquest. Anyhow after the demise of Buddha, there must have been desperate struggles for supremacy among the powers of northern India which ultimately led to the fall of the kingdom of Kosala and the emergence of Magadha as a paramount power.

¹ *The Early History of India*, 4th Ed., p. 38.

The ancient Pāli commentators devised a far-fetched and fantastic derivation of the name of *Sāvatthī*: *Sabbam ettha atthīti Sāvatthī*, 'all that here is (in abundance), therefore, it is called the All-abundant,' obviously to magnify the material prosperity of the city. They say, by way of explanation, that all that men needed for their nourishment and enjoyment could be had there in abundance. The passing inquiry as to what things are available at the dépôt of goods was readily answered with the reply—"all."¹ The following gāthās, traditionally handed down by them, may well express their estimate of the prosperity of Srāvastī:—

" *Sabbadā sabbūpakaranam Sāvaithiyam samohitam tasmā sabbam upādāya Sāvatthīti pavuchchati. Kosalānam puram rammam dassaneyam manoramam dasahi saddehi avivittam annapānasamāyutam. Vuddhiṁ vepullam pattam iddham phitam manoramam Alakanandā va devānam Sāvatthī-puram uttaman ti.*"²

"At all times all commodities were well-stocked in Sāvatthī, hence taken all things together, Sāvatthī is called all-abundant. The principal city of Kosala, charming, worth-seeing, delightful, never ceasing to reverberate with the ten gay sounds, and ever replenished with stores of food and drinks; gaining in development and expansion, flourishing with wealth, teeming with population and pleasing to the mind,—the city of Sāvatthī was like Alakanandā of the gods." The Sanskrit Buddhist texts, such as the *Avadānaśataka* (p. 19) and the *Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā* (7.50) also refer to the prosperity of Srāvastī. Merchants of Srāvastī, we are told, used often to go to Ceylon across the seas.

In the *Mahāparinibbāna-Suttanta* Sāvatthī is mentioned as one of the six examples of principal cities of Northern India, where many wealthy nobles, Brahmins, and traders had strong faith in the Tathāgata, the other five being Champā, Rājagaha, Sāketa, Kosambi and Bārāṇasī³. Buddhaghosha gives a traditional idea of the minimum monetary strength determining the status of a person considered wealthy (*mahāsāla*) among the nobles, the Brahmins, and the traders. A noble was considered wealthy if he had hoarded treasures worth one hundred or one thousand crores and in whose house the daily egress and ingress of money took place at the rate of one to two cart-loads of *kahāpanas*. A Brahmin was deemed affluent if he had a hoarding of eighty crores and in whose house the daily transactions of money amounted to one *tumba*. Similarly, a trader or banker was considered rich if he had hoarded at least forty crores and in whose house the daily outflow and receipts of money went on at the rate of five *ammapanas* to one *tumba* of *kahāpanas*.⁴ King Pasenadi himself was, no doubt, the chief of wealthy noblemen in Buddha's time. Other wealthy nobles among the citizens of Srāvastī who find mention in Buddhist literature, were Prince Jeta who

¹ *Papañcasūdanī*, I, p. 59: *Yam kiñchi manussānam upabhogaparibhogam sabbam ettha atthīti Sāvatthī. Sattha-samāyoge cha, kiñcī bhāṇḍam atthīti puchchhite sabbam atthīti rachanam upādāya Sāvatthī.*

² *Ibid*, I, pp. 59-60.

³ *Dīgha-Nikāya*, II, p. 146: *Santi.....mahānagarāni seyyathidam Champā Rājagaham Sāvatthī Sāketam Kosambi Bārāṇasī. Ettha.....bahū Khattiya-mahāsālā brāhmaṇa mahāsālā gahapati-mahāsālā Talhāgate abhippasannā.*

⁴ *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, II, p. 586.

laid out, owned, and maintained the famous garden bearing his name outside the city,¹ and the generals of Kosala, namely, Senāpati Viḍūḍabha, senāpati Dīgha-Kārāyaṇa, and senāpati Bandhula who according to later legends being assassinated with all his sons by Pasenadi was succeeded by his nephew Dīgha-Kārāyaṇa. The queens must have had their own private estates or hoardings. There was thus a famous garden, near the city bearing the name of Mallikā, the queen of Pasenadi, adorned with a Tiṇḍuka grove.² (which according to Buddhaghosha was a row of timbaru trees). It was a flower-and-fruit garden, as well as a park, at first provided with one shed (*ekasālaka*) and subsequently with many sheds.³

Jānussoṇi was evidently the chief of wealthy Brahmins who resided in the city of Śrāvastī. Aggika-Bhāradvāja was also a Brāhmaṇ resident of this city. Nālajaṅgha⁴ and Sañjaya Ākāsagotta⁵ were two other influential Brahmins, attached to the royal family of Kosala.

Sudatta, noted in the tradition of Buddhism as Anāthapiṇḍika or Anātha-pindada, and Migāra (Mrigadhara), father-in-law of Viśākhā, were the two rich traders and bankers of Śrāvastī, while Viśākhā's father, the banker Dhanañjaya, lived in Sāketa.⁶ Anāthapiṇḍika gained an immortal fame as the donor of the Jetavana monastery and Viśākhā immortalised herself by erecting the Pubbārāma vihāra. Sirivadḍha, the Mahāmatta of Kosala, was another leading citizen of Śrāvastī attached to the royal court of Pasenadi.

The material prosperity of Śrāvastī was due to the fact that it was a meeting place of three main trade-routes and a great centre of trade. The Sohgaura copper-plate,⁷ containing an order either issued by or issued to the mahāmātras of Śrāvastī (*Sāvatiyanām mahāmatauām sāsane*), stands out as a clear epigraphic record, proving that storehouses were built by the state on public roads at reasonable distances and in suitable localities stocked with loads of ropes and other things useful to the caravans. The plate refers to two such storehouses (*dve koṭhagalāni*), one at Manavasitikāda (a name reminding us of Manasākaṭa in the Pāli *Tevijja-sutta*) and Usagāma. The Pāli canonical texts definitely speak of Śrāvastī as the capital of Kosala (*Kosalānām purā*)⁸ but nowhere give a full description of the city. According to the *Lalitavistara* also, the most important capital city of Kosala was Śrāvastī which was full of kings, princes, ministers, councillors and their followers, Ksatriyas, Brāhmaṇas and householders, etc. (*Lalitavistara*, Chapter I). In the commentaries of Buddhaghosha, Śrāvastī is described as the

¹ *Papañcasudanī*, I, p. 60: *Jetass' ranam Jetaranam. Tamhi Jetena rājakumārena ropitam samvadhitam paripālitam, so cha tassa sāmī ahosi, tismā Jetaranam ti vachchati.*

² *Dīgha-Nikāya*, I, p. 178: *Tiṇḍukāchire ekasālakē Mallikāya ārāme.*

³ *Sūmangalavilāśīnī*, II, p. 365: *Tiṇḍukāchīra-sankhōtāya timbararukkha pantigā parikkhittatta tiṇḍukāchīram ettha puthayamān evāru sālā ahosi pachchhā bahū sālā kūtā Mallikāya pana Pasenadrañño derijā nyāna-bhuto so puṇṇaphalasam paramārāmo.*

⁴ *Majjhima-Nikāya*, II, p. 108.

⁵ *Ibid.* II, p. 127.

⁶ *Dhammapada Commentary*, Vol. I, Part II, pp. 386-387.

⁷ Edited by Buhler (*Vienna Oriental Journal*, X, pp. 138 ff. I. A., XXV, pp. 216 ff.); Fleet (*J. R. A. S.*, 1907, pp. 510 ff.), and Barua (*Annual of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, XI, pp. 32 ff.; *I. H. Q.*, X, pp. 54-6).

⁸ *Sutta-Nipāta*, p. 190.

city which accommodated fifty-seven thousand families and which was the 'principal source of income' (*āyamukhabhutā*) of the kingdom of Kāśī-Kosala, comprising eighty thousand localities and extending over three hundred leagues.¹ These also keep us in the dark as to the actual plan of the city. It may be safely presumed that the general plan of Śrāvastī was similar to those of other cities of the time. It must have been surrounded by a wall provided with gates on four or more sides. Within the wall the city must have three broad rings or divisions, *viz.*, central, outer and outermost, the royal palace and the court occupying the centre. The road arrangements must have been so planned as to facilitate patrol duty. There must have been proper allocation of sites for quarters of the officials, religious and educational institutions, private residences, bazars and even prostitute's quarters. The wall and the city gates remained till the 5th and 7th centuries of the Christian era, when Fa-Hien and Hiuen-Tsang visited the place. The earlier pilgrim has expressly referred to the southern gate² and the later pilgrim to the eastern.³ The *Dhammapada Commentary* refers to the *Uttaradvāra* (northern gate).⁴ There is a clear reference in the *Kosala-Saṃyutta* to the royal palace of Pasenadi.⁵ The Jaina *Bhagavatī-Sūtra* refers to a potter-shop (undoubtedly within a bazar) which had become a notable retreat of the Ājīvikas. Buddhist literature is not lacking in references to the courtesans who lived somewhere within the city-wall. That the city was enclosed by a wall and had gates allowing ingress and egress is also borne out by a Bharhut sculpture, vividly depicting a processional chariot-drive of Pasenadi out of the city. The early records of Buddhism preserve the memory of King Pasenadi going out of the city either in a royal chariot yoked with the best of steeds⁶ or occasionally on the back of the state-elephant called *Ekapuṇḍarīka*⁷ which unmistakeably goes to show that there were spacious roads from each of the city gates leading to the Palace.⁸ The same set of records still keeps up the memory of the river *Achiravatī* on the western bank of which the city was situated, the wheat fields which it nourished on its banks,⁹ the bathing of the local people in its waters¹⁰ and the swimming of the cattle across it. The city was undoubtedly rich, populous and flourishing. It shone forth in all its splendour as a queen of the cities and towns in the kingdom of Kosala. Apart from the religious establishments of the Brahmins and the Ājīvikas within the city wall, it had

¹ *Samantapāśādikā*, p. 614: *Sāvatthi nāma sattapaññāsāya-kulasatasahassehi ajjhāvutthā, aśtigāmasvassapatimanditānām tiyojanasatibānām dvīṇānām Kāśī-Kosalā aṭṭhānām āyamukhabhutā.*

² Beal's *Buddhist Records*, I, p. xliv.

³ *Ibid.*, II, p. 4.

⁴ *Dhammapada Commentary*, III, p. 380.

⁵ *Saṃyutta-Nikāya*, I, p. 75: *Tena kho pana samayena rājā Pasenadi-Kosalo Mallikīya deviyā saddhim upari-pasādavaragato hoti.*

⁶ *Majjhima-Nikāya*, I, p. 149, II, p. 118.

⁷ *Ibid.*, II, p. 112: *Tena kho pana samayena rājā Pasenadi-Kosalo Ekapuṇḍarikām nāgam abhirūhitvā Sāvatthiyā niyyāti divādivassa.*

⁸ This may be easily inferred from the *Saṃyutta Nikāya*, I, p. 95, where Buddha says to Pasenadi: 'Seyyathāpi mahārājā puriso pāśādā vā hatthikkhaṇḍam oroheyya, hatthikkhaṇḍā vā assa-piṭṭhim oroheyya, assa-piṭṭhiyā vā pallankam oroheyya, pallankā vā pathavim oroheyya, pathaviyā vā andhakaram oroheyya.'

⁹ *Paramatthajotikā*, p. 511.

¹⁰ *Vinaya Piṭaka*, I, 293.

in its neighbourhood two famous monastic establishments of the Buddhists, *viz.*, the *Jetavana* and the *Pubbārāma* on its south-side. In its neighbourhood was also to be seen the *Ekasālakatiṇḍuka* grove of Queen Mallikā provided with suitable shelters for the chance-visitors among the wandering ascetics (*Paribbājakas*) and other religieux, and proverbially resounded with voices of serious discussion of the problems of religion and philosophy (*samayapparādaka tinḍukachire*).¹ There were separate retreats for the *Nigganthas* (Jains) and other *Titthiyas*, particularly the *Ājīvikas*. The *Chabbaggiya bhikkhus*, notorious in the Buddhist Vinaya tradition, built a centre of their own near the city in a place frequented by the people. They managed to have *pariveṇas* built for them, to lay out the flower and fruit gardens and to make the religion attractive to the youths of the locality.²

Thus it may be easy to imagine that Śrāvastī was not only a great emporium of Indian trade but also a renowned centre of religion and culture. As a matter of fact, the Buddhist texts refer to various occasions on which the Brahmin *mahāsālas*, the wandering ascetics, and all recluses including those belonging to the Buddhist order visited Śrāvastī and its neighbourhood and met in conferences for the settlement of doubtful points.³ The visits of all these men of religion became so frequent and in such large numbers that King Pasenadi found it necessary to maintain a royal storehouse (*kotthāgāra*) within the city, where stocks of oil and ghee for use by those visitors, were kept ready, but the supply had to be stringently restricted to consumption on the spot.⁴

III. JETAVANA AND PŪRVĀRAMA

The *Jetavana* (also called *Jetārāma*, *Jetuyyāma*) is one of those royal gardens in northern India which was destined to become a favourite retreat of Buddha and an early centre of Buddhism. In this respect Jetavana ranks indeed with such other gardens as *Veṇuvana* and *Jīvaka*'s mango-grove near Rājagaha, *Mahāvana* near Vesālī, the Banyan-grove near Kapilavatthu, *Ghositārāma* near Kosambī, the Isipatana deer-park near Benares, and the Deerpark called *Bhesakalāvana* near *Sumisumāragiri*. The term *Jetavana*, met with throughout Buddhist literature is not to be understood in its original sense as the name of a private garden belonging to Prince Jeta. To the Buddhists it is the name of a Buddhist monastic establishment in the suburb of *Sāvatthī* (*Sāvatthīm upanis-sāya*) which perpetuates at the same time the noble deeds of Prince Jeta, the original owner of the site. The same monastic institution is also represented as *Anāthapindīka*'s *ārāma*, which latter is a name intended to perpetuate the memory

¹ *Sumangalarilāsinī*, II, p. 365: *Samayam paradanti etthā ti samayapparādako. Tasmim kira thāne chankī Tārukha-Pokkharasāti-ppabkhātayo brāhmaṇa-nigganthāchelalaparibbājakādayo cha pabla jitā sannijatiteā attano attano samayam vadanti, kathertī, dīpenti, tasmā eo ārāmo samayāpparādako ti ruchchati.....etthu paṭhamam ekāra sālā ahosi pachchhā mahāpūñña-paribbājakam nissāya bahūsālā katā.*

² *Samantapāśādikā*, p. 614; Barua in *I. H. Q.*, X, p. 63.

³ *Sutta-Nipāta*, p. 50.

⁴ *Udānagabbhīni Sutta*, quoted by Barua in *I. H. Q.*, X, p. 56: "Tena kho pana samayena rañño Pasenadissa Kosalassa kotthāgāre samaṇassa rā brāhmaṇassa rā sappissa rā telas-irā yāraduttham pātum diyyati no niharitum."

of Anāthapindika or Anāthapindada, the purchaser of the site.¹ Thus the Buddhists devised rather a long-drawn expression—*Sāvatthiyam Jetavane Anāthapindikassa ārāme* to refer to the monastic establishment and site perpetuating the memory not only of Prince Jeta and banker Sudatta Anāthapindika but of the city of Śrāvastī as well. *Kosala-mandira* ("the temple of Kosala") was still another name of this establishment bespeaking the glory of the kingdom in which it was built.² With the erection of the Jetavana monastery and the formal dedication of the same to Buddha by Anāthapindika was planted the first permanent centre of Buddhism in Kosala proper, particularly in Śrāvastī. The earliest known account of this magnificent work of piety is contained in the *Vinaya-Chullavagga* and all the later accounts are substantially the same. Since his return from Rājagaha to Sāvatthī, the banker Anāthapindika was on the lookout for a suitable site which was neither very far from nor very near the city which was at the same time easy of communication, easily accessible to visitors, not overcrowded at day time, noiseless at night, bereft of tumults, sequestered, sombre,—a place fit for silent meditation. Prince Jeta's garden appeared to be the desired site. As soon as Prince Jeta had agreed to sell it, the banker employed his men to cut down all the trees and clear the site. The later accounts specifically say that all but one mango and four sandal trees were cut down. The Prince changed his mind and declined to part with his favourite garden, but according to the opinion of the legal experts (*Vohārika mahāmatta*) to whom the matter was referred, it was too late for the Prince to retract from the contract made. The prince then demanded an exorbitant price viz., as many crores of gold-pieces (*hiraññanām*) as would be required to cover up the entire site. The banker forthwith engaged his men to cover up the site with a layer of gold-pieces in fulfilment of the condition of purchase. When nearly the whole of the site was covered up with eighteen crores and a small portion remained to be covered, Prince Jeta appeared on the scene and wanted to participate in this work of piety and utilized the whole amount of eighteen crores received from Anāthapindika as well as the sale proceeds of the trees in constructing a *Koṭṭhaka*. According to the Vinaya account the banker himself, at the cost of another eighteen crores, caused to be built a number of buildings as:—

Vihāras (dwelling-rooms),
Pariveṇas (retiring-rooms),
Koṭṭhakas (store-rooms over the gateways),
Upaṭṭhānasālās (service halls),
Aggisālās (halls with fire-places in them),
Kappiyakuṭis (storehouses outside the vihāra),
Vachehakuṭis (closets),
Chaṅkamas (cloisters),
Chaṅkamanasālās (halls for exercise),
Udapānas (wells),

¹ *Papañcasūdanī*, I, pp. 60-61.

² *Sutta-Nipāta*, p. 192: *Sāvatthiyam Kosala-mandire*.

Udapānasālās (sheds for the wells),
Jantāgharas (bath-rooms),
Jantāgharasālās (halls attached to the bath-rooms),
Pokkharaṇī (tanks), and
Maṇḍapas (pavilions).

The formal dedication of the Jetavana monastery was a big ceremonial function (*Vihāra-maha*) entailing the expenditure of another sum of eighteen crores.¹ Thus to complete this work of piety, from the purchase of the site to the dedication of the monastery, a huge amount of money had to be spent. The figures shown in terms of four multiples of eighteen crores are too symmetrical to deserve credence. That it was a highly ambitious undertaking or that it required a very large amount is, of course, undoubted. It is interesting to observe that all the stages in the process of construction of the Jetavana monastery consummated by the ceremony of dedication are faithfully represented in the Bharhut bas-relief bearing on the subject,² while the Bodh-Gayā relief illustrates only the scene of fulfilment of the term of purchase.³

The *Jātaka Nidāna-kathā* adds that in launching upon new building operations on the site of Jetavana the banker caused the *Gandha Kuṭī* to be made for Buddha in the centre, and around it and according to a set plan, he caused to be constructed (cellular) abodes for the eighty great disciples, each sufficient for one man, and to be provided (for all) one-pinnacled, two-pinnacled, duck-and-partridge roofed, long-chambered and maṇḍapa-like retreats and tanks as well as 'places to walk, to retire during the night, and to stay during the day'.⁴

The *Sutta-Nipāta Commentary* mentions the *Liṅhāgandha Kuṭī*, the *Karerimāṇḍalamāla*, the *Kosamba Kuṭī* and the *Chandanamāla* as the four constructions in *Jetavana* which were meant for the personal use of Buddha. It does not, however, describe any of these in detail.

Some useful information on the point is supplied by Buddhaghosha in his *Suṇḍaravilāsinī*, II, p. 407, where he points out that the *Kareri Kuṭī*, the *Kosamba Kuṭī*, the *Gandha Kuṭī*, and the *Salalaghara* were the four main buildings in *Jetavana*. The *Kareri Kuṭī* derived its name from a *kareri* or *varuṇa* tree which stood with its shady bower at its door, just in the same way that the *Kosamba Kuṭī* was so called because a *kosamba* tree stood before it.⁵ Of these four main buildings, the *Salalaghara* alone was erected by King Pasenadi and the rest were erected by Anāthapindika. The *Kareri Kuṭī* was built like a celestial mansion on a foundation of pillars. Not far from the *kareri* bower in front of the *Kareri Kuṭī* was built

¹ Fausboll's *Jātaka*, I, p. 92.

² Barua's *Bārhut*, Bk. II, pp. 27-31.

³ Barua's *Gayā and Buddha Gayā*, Vol. II, pp. 104-5, Fig. 54.

⁴ Fausboll's *Jātaka*, I, p. 92: "navakammapi paṭṭhapesi. So majjhe Dasabalassi gand'akutim kāre-i. Tam parivāretvā asiti mahātherāñc pāti ekka sannivesane āvāse ekākula dīkadvikul lakshim avattakad gha ālamāṇḍapādīvasesa sesasenāsanāni pokkharaṇīyo ca camkīmanarattihāna-dīvihinīi cī ti a'hi rā-akṣiparicchāgēna ramanīye bhāmībhāge manaramaṇi vilāram kārāpetvā."

⁵ *Karerī ti Varuṇarukkhassa nāmām Karerimāṇḍapo tassā kuṭikāya dvāre thito, taemā Karerikṛtikā ti vuchhati, yathā Kosambarukkhassa dvāre thitattā Kosambakūṭikā ti. Anto Jetavane kira Karerikūṭi-Kosambakuṭi-Gandhakuṭi-Salalagharaṇ ti chattāri mahāgehāni.*

a sitting shed, called *Karerimandalamāla*. The bower itself stood just between the *gandhakuti* and this shed. Accordingly the term *karerimandalamāla* is used to denote the *gandhakuti*, the *karerikuti*, as well as the *niśidanasālā*. Each of the four buildings was erected at the cost of a hundred thousand coins.¹

Pūrvārāma :—This is the second and later Buddhist monastery erected in the neighbourhood of Śrāvastī, to the north-east of Jetavana at a short distance from it, by the pious lady Viśākhā, the daughter-in-law of the banker Migāra (Mṛgadharma) who was at first a staunch lay-supporter of the Ājīvikas. She came to be honoured in Buddhist tradition as Migāra-mātā (mother of Migāra) for no other reason than that she was instrumental in winning over the banker from the Ājīvikas and effecting his conversion to Buddhism. The circumstances which eventually led to the erection of the *Pūrvārāma* monastery are related in the story of Viśākhā in the *Dhammapada Commentary*.² One day she returned home from the Jetavana monastery, forgetting all about her valuable necklace which she took off her person and inadvertently left behind in the monastery. On getting it back she became reluctant to wear it any longer as a personal ornament and made up her mind to erect a suitable residence for the *saṅgha* with the sale-proceeds of the ornament. She sold it off for nine crores and one hundred thousand which sum she utilized in purchasing the site near about the eastern gate (?) of the city).³ She spent another nine crores in erecting the monastery and an equal amount in celebrating the ceremony of dedication, the total expenditure amounting to twenty-seven crores. The materials used for the erection were both wood and stone (*rukka*, *pāsāṇa*). The monastery stood up as a magnificent two-storeyed building with five hundred rooms on the ground floor and an equal number of rooms on the upper floor.⁴ It has traditionally been known by the name of *Pubbārāma Migāramātupāsāda*.

IV. ŚRĀVASTĪ IN RELIGIOUS TRADITION

Śrāvastī is the Chandrapurī or Chandrikāpurī of the Jains, noted as the birth-place of their third Tīrthaṅkara Sambhavanātha (Jaina Harivaiśa Purāṇa, p. 717) and eighth Tīrthaṅkara Chandraprabhānātha.⁵ It was here that Mahāvīra met Gosāla Mañkhaliputta for the first time after their separation and after the latter had proclaimed himself as an independent teacher. Mahāvīra visited the city more than once and was every time well received.⁶ He spent one rainy season at this place.⁷ Nandinipriya, a wealthy house-holder and citizen of Śrāvastī

¹ *Sumāngalavilāsinī*, II, p. 407 : *Ek' ekaṁ sata-sahassa-parichchāgena nippahannam. Tesu Salaṭagharām raññā Pasenadinā kāritām. sesāni Anāthapindikena gahapatinā. Iti Bhagavā...thambhānam upari kāritāya devavimāna-kappāya Karerikutikāya viharati... Karerimandalamāle' ti tass' eva Karerimaydapassa avidūre katāya niśidanasālāya. So kira Karerimandapo gandhakutikāya cha sālāya cha antare hoti. Tasmā gandhakuti pi Karerikutikā pi sālā pi Karerimandalamālo ti vuchchati.*

² *Dhammapada Commentary*, Vol. I, pp. 384-420.

³ *Ibid*, I, pp. 412-3 : *Pācchinadrāre saṅghassa rasanaṭṭhānan kātun te yuttan Viśākhāti.*

⁴ *Ibid*, I, p. 414 : *Heṭṭhabhāmīyan pañchagalbhāsatāni uparibhūmīyan pañchū gabbhasatāni gabbhasahassapati-mandilo pāsādo ahosi.*

⁵ Shah, *Jainism of Northern India*, p. 26.

⁶ *Kalpasūtra, Subodhikā Ṭikā*, pp. 103, 105, 106; *Āvasyaka Sūtra*, p. 221.

⁷ Stevenson, *Heart of Jainism*, p. 42.

who was the owner of a treasure of four crore measures of gold, became a lay-supporter of Jainism.¹ Kapila, son of Kāśyapa, was sent to Śrāvastī to study under Indradatta, a friend of his father, who was willing to instruct the boy and procured for him free board and lodging in a rich man's house.² Maghavan, a son of King Samudravijaya of Śrāvastī, became a powerful monarch.³ Keśī, formerly a follower of Pārśva and subsequently a follower of Mahāvīra once visited Śrāvastī.⁴ It was at Saravana near Śrāvastī that Gosāla, the great leader of the Ājīvikas, was born of Maskari or Parivrājaka parents who used to wander about in the country with a portable picture gallery, instructing people by means of pictures. It was in the city of Śrāvastī that Gosāla declared his Jinahood and found a good following among the local people. It was here again that he mostly lived and passed away. The Ājīvika canon consisting of eight *mahānimittas* and two *maggas* was compiled at Śrāvastī with the ten *Pūras* as its authoritative basis. The banker Migāra, the father-in-law of the Buddhist lady Viśīkhī and others were to be counted among the staunch lay-supporters of the Ājīvikas,⁵ who were naked ascetics and who found a strong-hold in Śrāvastī.

Śrāvastī was equally a strong-hold of Brahmanism, both secular and transcendental. Nālajangha and Sañjaya Ākāśagotta were the two Brahmins attached to the royal family of Pasenadi. Bīvari, a leader of the Jatilas, with his hermitage on the bank of the Codāvarī, was honoured as the Purohita to King Mahākosala and to his son and successor Pasenadi. Vedic sacrifices involving the slaughter of animal life were regularly performed in the city under the auspices of the king of Kosala.⁶ Powerful Vedic institutions were maintained as already noted, on royal grants and endowments, both within and outside the city of Śrāvastī. The heads of those institutions were all Traividyas, unsurpassed masters of Vedic literature. The city maintained in its suburb the Mihikārāma as a spacious resort for the Brahmanical wandering ascetics who were powerful disputants and controversialists of the age. Other orders of nibleses also found a retreat (*āśrama*) near the city. In point of fact the Jatilas, the Nigārhas (Jains), the Āshokas, the Ekasāṭakas and the Paribbājakas, each distinguished by some visible characteristics, were very familiar figures to the people of the city, so much so that it was easy for the royal spies to hide their secret mission under the garb of those religieux.⁷ The Brahmin *āshāsālas* were mostly interested in the discussions of the problem of caste and the social order based on the authority of the Vedas: The site of the 'shavelings' was repugnant to some of the Brahmin puritans. The Brahmin opposition was at

¹ *Urvāsagadasāo*, pp. 166-67.

² *Jaina Sūtras* (S. B. E.), Part II, p. 32.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 85.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 120.

⁵ *Journal of the Department of Letters*, Calcutta University, Vol. II.

⁶ *Samyutta-Nikaya*, I, p. 76: *Idha rāññu Pa-enadi-Kosīlassa mahāyañño pachchupathito hoti. Pañcha cha usabha-satāni pañcha cha vachchhatarasatāni, pañcha vachchhatarisatāni pañcha cha urabbhasatāni thūnūpanitāni honti yaññathāya.*

⁷ *Ibid.*, I, p. 78.

one time so obstinate that a banker of Śrāvastī had to apply for the help of the royal army in erecting a Buddhist stūpa.¹

Buddhist tradition tends to create the impression that the whole atmosphere of the city of Śrāvastī and its surrounding was surcharged with the influence of Buddha and Buddhism. This city was 'the resort of many wealthy nobles, brahmins, heads of houses and believers in the Tathāgata'.² It was in this city that the Buddha gave religious instruction to the citizens whose darkness of ignorance was thereby dispelled.³ In one of the Jātakas we read that there was at Sāvatthī a rich merchant who was worth eighteen crores.⁴ In another Jātaka we are told that at Sāvatthī, in the house of Anāthapindika, food was always kept ready for 500 brethren; the same thing is also told about Visākhā and the king of Kosala.⁵ Buddha was once invited by a generous donor of the city, and for seven days Buddha and his companions were entertained by him with many gifts and requisites.⁶ We read in the *Majjhima-Nikāya* that Buddha delivered a sermon on *bāla* and *pandita* (the foolish and the learned) to the Bhikkhus (III, p. 163 ff.). We are further told that Mahāpajāpati Gotamī saw the Buddha with five hundred bhikkhuṇīs, and requested him to give religious instructions to the bhikkhuṇīs (*Ibid.*, III, p. 270). The *Ānguttara-Nikāya* points out that while revered Nandaka was once dwelling at Sāvatthī in Pubbārāma, the palace of Migāramātā, Salla, grandson of Migīrasetṭhi, and Rohaṇa, grandson of Pekuni-yasetṭhi, went to Nandaka and enquired of the true religion from him and Nandaka gave a very suitable reply expounding the main principles of his Master's religion (I, pp. 193 ff.). According to the *Samyutta-Nikāya*, Sāvatthī was often visited by Buddha and on many an occasion he delivered discourses expounding the growing tenets of his new religion. Here he delivered a sermon to Anāthapindika about the arivasāvakas (noble disciples of the Buddha).⁷ At Jetavana Buddha also gave a discourse on two kinds of faults⁸; while on another occasion his disciple Sāriputta discoursed on the three kinds of Puggalas.⁹ Buddha discoursed on three kinds of sick persons¹⁰. While at the palace of Migāramātā he addressed a discourse to Visākhā on the three kinds of Uposatha and further he spoke about the longevity of the gods.¹¹ Sāriputta also held a discourse at the palace of Migāramātā near Sāvatthī on external and internal ties.¹² The venue of discussion on the cessation of *rāga*, *moha*, and *dosa* between Channa paribbājaka and Ānanda was also Sāvatthī.¹³ Here Buddha spoke to Rohita on the

¹ *Dīrghāvadāna*, pp. 243-244.

² *Buddhist, Suttas, S. B. E.*, p. 99.

³ *Bodhisattvāvadāna-kilpalatā* 6, 3; 79, 2; 82, 2.

⁴ *Jāt.* (*Cowell*), Vol. VI, p. 38.

⁵ *Jāt.* (*Cowell*), Vol. IV, p. 91.

⁶ *Jāt.* (*Cowell*), Vol. IV, pp. 148-49.

⁷ *S. N.*, V, p. 387.

⁸ *A. N.*, I, pp. 47 ff.

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 118 ff.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 120 ff.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 205 ff.

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 63 ff.

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 215 ff.

place where one is not subject to birth and death. While at the palace of Migāramātā he spoke of the four kinds of bhikkhus.¹

While residing at Jetavana, Buddha was once questioned by Mallikādevī, queen of Pasenadi, about poor, wretched and ugly looking women, rich but ugly looking women, beautiful but wretched and poor women and wealthy and beautiful women.² Here also the princess Sumanā with 500 princesses went to Buddha and questioned him about the fate of two of Buddha's disciples, one of whom was charitable, and another stingy, after death, to which a suitable reply was given.³ Here he instructed Anāthapindika about the utility of wealth, and about the difficulty in obtaining longevity, beauty, happiness, fame and heaven.⁴ After the death of Mallikādevī, Pasenadi afflicted with grief went to the Master at Jetavana and received consolation from him.⁵ He spoke here of the five *nīvaranas*⁶ (obstacles) as also of the five precepts⁷ and *dāna*.⁸ While he was here, the great *yajña* of *Uggatasarīra* brahmin was being performed with elaborate sacrifices. The brahmin informed the Buddha thus: "If sacrifice be offered to the fire and if sacrificial wood is raised by anybody he will accumulate the greatest merit." He spoke of three other kinds of fire which one should honour and worship.⁹ He went to Anāthapindika's house and gave instructions to Anāthapindika's daughter-in-law Sujātā, on seven kinds of wives.¹⁰ Here he delivered a sermon to the bhikkhus on the good effect of developing *mettā*¹¹ and on the merit and importance of observing *uposatha* consisting of eight *arīgas* or precepts.¹² He spoke here to Visākhā Migāramātā about the eight and four qualities of women.¹³ He also spoke to Anāthapindika about the way in which charities should be dispensed¹⁴ and to the bhikkhus about the precepts and the observance of the precepts as given in the *Pātimokkha*.¹⁵ Once Pasenadi came to Buddha, returning victorious from the battle-field. The king fell at his feet, kissing them, and spoke highly of the qualities of the Master.¹⁶

Jetavana plays an equally prominent part in the Buddhist tradition as contained in Sanskrit Buddhist texts. The *Lalitavistara* (ch. i) says that Buddha stayed with his retinue of bhikkhus for a number of times and received hundreds of householders as followers and disciples. It was at the Jetavana grove that Devadatta sent assassins to kill the Buddha who, however, received them very

¹ *A. N.*, II, pp. 183-84.

² *Ibid.*, II, pp. 262 ff.

³ *Ibid.*, III, pp. 32 ff.

⁴ *Ibid.*, III, pp. 45-48.

⁵ *Ibid.*, III, p. 57.

⁶ *Ibid.*, III, pp. 63-64.

⁷ *Ibid.*, III, p. 203.

⁸ *Ibid.*, III, p. 336.

⁹ *Ibid.*, IV, pp. 41 ff.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, IV, pp. 91 ff.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, IV, pp. 150-151.

¹² *Ibid.*, IV, pp. 248 ff.

¹³ *Ibid.*, IV, pp. 267 and 269 ff.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, IV, pp. 392 ff.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, V, pp. 131-132.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, V, pp. 65 ff.

hospitably.¹ It was here also that Bimbisāra and Prasenajit met the Buddha and did him homage.²

Here at Sāvatthī Buddha taught kāmamatthāna to five hundred bhikkhus. He taught the *Mettā suttam* to the same party.³ Mahāsuvaṇṇa, a banker of Sāvatthī, had two sons, the first of whom became a bhikkhu under the Buddha and was known as Chakkupāla.⁴ Matthakundali was the son of a rich and stingy Brahmin of Sāvatthī who became a devout follower of the Master.⁵ Thullatissa was the Buddha's father's sister's son and lived at Sāvatthī as a bhikkhu.⁶ Kāliyakkhinī was a yakshī worshipped by the people of Sāvatthī who could foretell drought and excessive rainfall.⁷

Sāvatthī contributed a fair number of bhikkhus and bhikkhunīs who acquired fame and renown in the Buddhist congregation for the purity of their lives. Paṭāchārā was the daughter of a rich banker of Sāvatthī. She afterwards became a bhikkhunī.⁸ Kisāgotamī was the daughter of a setthī of Sāvatthī. After the death of her only child, she went to Buddha with the dead body and requested him to bring the dead back to life. Buddha delivered a sermon which led her to become a bhikkhunī.⁹ Anitthigandhakumāra fallen from the *Brahmaloka*, was reborn in a rich family of Sāvatthī and was eventually converted by Buddha.¹⁰ Vakkali, born in a Brahmin family of Sāvatthī became a bhikkhu seeing the beauty of the Buddha's body.¹¹ A servant of a Brahmin of Sāvatthī became a bhikkhu and subsequently attained arhatship.¹² The *Theragāthā* informs us that the thera Kaṅkhārevata came of a wealthy family of Sāvatthī.¹³ Vīra was born in the family of a minister to King Pasenadi of Sāvatthī.¹⁴ Kuṇḍadhāna, another inhabitant of Sāvatthī, when advanced in years, heard the Master preach and left the world. He was provided with all the necessities of life by Pasenadi.¹⁵ Ajita, a Sāvatthī man and a follower of Bāvari, entered the Order and became an *arhat*.¹⁶ In the *Therīgāthā* we are told that Sumanā was born at Sāvatthī as the sister of the king of Kośala. She heard the Master preach the doctrine to King Pasenadi. Eventually she entered the Order and became an *arhat*.¹⁷ According to the *Suttata-Nipāta*, Buddha spoke to a group of Brāhmaṇas about the salutary customs of ancient Brāhmaṇas, and how those customs came gradually to be undermined by sin, and greed, and immorality. The Brahmins were

¹ *Avadānaśataka*, p. 27.

² *Ibid*, pp. 12-13, 45.

³ *Khuddokapāṭha Commentary*, pp. 231 ff.

⁴ *Dhammapada Commentary*, I, pp. 3 ff.

⁵ *Ibid*, I, 25 ff.

⁶ *Ibid*, I, pp. 37 ff.

⁷ *Ibid*, I, pp. 45 ff.

⁸ *Ibid*, II, pp. 260 ff.

⁹ *Ibid*, II, pp. 270 ff.

¹⁰ *Ibid*, III, pp. 281 ff.

¹¹ *Ibid*, IV, pp. 119 ff.

¹² *Ibid*, IV, p. 167.

¹³ *Psalms of the Brethren*, p. 7.

¹⁴ *Ibid*, pp. 13-14.

¹⁵ *Ibid*, pp. 19-20.

¹⁶ *Ibid*, p. 25.

¹⁷ *Psalms of the Sisters*, pp. 19-20.

pleased to hear this and took refuge in the Buddha, Dhamma, and Samgha.¹ Here at Sāvatthī, Pasura, a *paribbājaka*, held a disputation with Sāriputta. He met Lāludāyī at Jetavana and received ordination from him. The *Vimānavatthu* *commentary* alludes to a number of instances where many men and women of Śrāvastī, believers in the Buddha and his religion, who after death were reborn in various heavens where they enjoyed heavenly bliss.² The *Dīgha Nikāya* tells us that while immediately after Buddha's *parinibbāna*, Ānanda was dwelling at Jetavana, Subha, son of Todeyya, came to Sāvatthī on some business, and invited Ānanda who accepted the invitation. He had a talk with Ānanda about the *dhammas* preached by the Blessed One.³ The *Vinaya-Piṭaka* gives a most realistic picture of the life of the inmates of the two great monasteries of Jetavana and Pubbārāma. The same *Piṭaka* also introduces us to the *Chabbaggiya Bhikkhus*, all of whom were youngmen of Sāvatthī.

The extent of influence of Buddhism over the religious life of the people of Śrāvastī is sought to be brought out in the *Milindapañha* (p. 349) in the following tradition which evidently exaggerates the truth :

“Nagare mahārāja Sāvatthiyā pañcakoṭimattā ariyasāvakā Bhagavato upāsaka-upāsikāya sattapaññāsa sahassāni tīṇi satusahassāni anāgāmiphale patīthitā, te subbe pi gihī yera na pabbajitā.” “In the city of Sāvatthī. O king, five crores in number are the revered disciples: among the lay followers of the Blessed One, men and women, three hundred and fifty-seven thousand persons are established in the fruition stage of non-returners. All of them are house-holders; none has renounced the world.”

V. DECLINE OF ŚRĀVASTĪ

With the downfall of the kingdom of Kosala began the decline of Śrāvastī, its capital. It continued, however, to be a religious centre right up to the 12th century A.D. Ānanda, Kumāra Kassapa and other immediate disciples of Buddha, who lived after his demise, carried on the preaching work in Śrāvastī, Tūdīgāma, Setavya (subsequently known as Payāsi or Bayāsi), and other places in Kosala.⁴ The *Divyācudāra* gives an account of Aśoka's pilgrimage to Jetavana where he paid his worship at the four stūpas, one erected in honour of Sāriputra and the remaining three in honour of Maudgalyāyana, Mahākāśyapa and Ānanda. It does not credit Aśoka with any other work of piety at Śrāvastī.⁵ The *Mahāvāṃsa* speaks of the visit of Mahāthera Piyadassi to Ceylon from the Jetavana-vihāra with one thousand bhikkhus during the reign of King Duṭṭhagāmani.⁶ The sculptures of Bharhut and Bodh-Gayā, carved in the second and first centuries B. C., illustrate incidents which took place in Śrāvastī and Jetavana in Buddha's time. The two inscriptions of Bhikshu Bala, incised in the early Kushāṇa age,

¹ P. T. S., Edn., 50-55.

² *Vimānavatthu* *Commentary*, pp. 56-57, 61, 109-110, 149-56, etc.

³ D. N., I, pp. 204 ff.

⁴ *Ibid.*, I, 204; II, 316.

⁵ *Divyācudāra*, pp. 394-6.

⁶ *Mahāvāṃsa*, Ch. 29, verse 32.

unmistakably show that the entire site of the Jetavana monastery came into the possession of the Buddhist sect of Sarvāstivādins. The inscriptions of the same monk Bala, found at Sārnāth and Mathurā, go to prove that the Sarvāstivādins gained preponderance also at Sārnāth and Mathurā. Two other inscriptions of the Kushāna period, found at Sahet-Mahet, expressly say that the Bodhisattva images installed at the site, were carved by the sculptors of Mathurā.

Śrāvastī declined indeed in wealth, population and political importance. The Pāli legends record with regret that Anāthapindika, the famous donor of the Jetavana monastery, died penniless after having spent fifty-four crores on the erection of the vihāra, lost 18 crores in business and 18 crores by the action of the river Achiravatī which swept away his hoarding on its bank.¹

By the time of Fā-Hien's visit in the beginning of the 5th century A.D., there were 'very few inhabitants,' 'altogether perhaps about 200 families,' in the city of Śrāvastī which was so populous in Buddha's time. Towering shrines were built in after times on the site of the ruined vihāra of Mahāprajāpati, on the foundations of the house of Sudatta-Anāthapindika and on the spot where the dead body of Thera Āngulimāla was cremated in the city. The Jetavana monastery, built by Sudatta, lay to the south of the ruined city, 1,200 paces on the road from its south gate, on the west side of it. The monastery opened towards the east, and its main entrance was flanked by two side chambers with two stone pillars in front of them, one to the left bearing a wheel on its capital and the other to the right bearing an ox—a description well-suited to Asokan monoliths. There were tanks with clear water, and the luxuriant groves and flower gardens around the convent were quite befitting the name of Jetavana. An image carved in sandal wood was then known to have been the earliest figure on the model of which later figures were made. Near about the sandal-wood figure was the small vihāra in which Buddha used to live just on the south side of a larger vihāra. The main building of Jetavana monastery had been seven-storeyed before it was burnt down accidentally by fire.

The monastery accommodated a large number of inmates. The Pūrvārāma erected by Viśākhā six or seven li to the north-east of the Jetavana vihāra was completely in ruin. The extensive garden enclosure of the Jetavana vihāra had two gates, one opening towards the east and the other towards the north. The main chapel was just in the middle of that enclosure. Memorial shrines were erected on the various spots where Buddha walked for exercise or sat down. These shrines had all distinctive names given them. Men in after times located the spots associated with the notable incidents of Buddha's life, and befittingly sanctified them. They erected, for instance, a vihāra on the spot where Buddha met and defeated the heretics, more than 70 feet high, and it contained a sitting figure of Buddha. To the east of the road was a temple (devālaya) belonging to the heretics, which was named 'Shadow-covered' and which was of the same height as the vihāra opposite which it was built. Traditionally there were ninety saṅghārāmas surrounding the Jetavana vihāra, all of whom with the

¹ *Dhammapada Commentary*, Vol. III, p. 10.

exception of one were tenanted by the monks. There were ninety-six heretical sects, each of whom had its adherents in Kosala. The inhabitants of this country of Mid-India built hospices by the side of solitary roads for the shelter of travellers. The followers of Buddha, too, as they passed to and fro, were entertained by them. Devadatta also had a body of disciples still existing, who paid religious reverence to three former Buddhas but not to Buddha Śākyamuni.¹

To Hiuen Thsang who visited the place in the 7th century A.D., the kingdom of Kosala was known as the kingdom of Śrāvastī. The chief town was 'desert and ruined' and there was 'no record as to its limits'. The ruins of the walls encompassing the royal precincts gave a circuit of about 20 li (3 miles). There were but a few inhabitants. Cereals grew in abundance, the climate was soft and agreeable, and the manners of the people were honest and pure. They applied themselves to learning and loved religion. There were several hundreds of saṅghārāmas, mostly in ruin, with very few religious followers, who studied the books of the Sammatīya school of Buddhism. There were 100 Deva temples with very many heretics. Within the old precincts of the royal city were some ancient foundations including the remains of the palace of King Prasenajit. Not far to the east from this was the ruinous foundation on which was built a small stūpa. The ruins represented the great Hall of the Law built by Prasenajit in honour of Buddha. By the side of that hall, not far from it, a stūpa was built above the ruins of the vihāra built by Prasenajit for Mahāprajāpati bhikshuṇī. Further east was a stūpa to mark the site of the house of Sudatta, and by the side of it, still another stūpa marking the spot where Aṅgulimāla gave up his heresy. The Jetavana vihāra lay to the south of the city of Śrāvastī, at a distance of 5 or 6 li (about a mile), and it had two Asokan pillars at its eastern gate, the left-hand pillar bearing a wheel and the right-hand pillar the figure of an ox.

To the north-east of Jetavana was a stūpa marking the spot where Buddha washed a sick bhikshu with water. To the north-west of it was a small stūpa built in honour of Mudgalaputra with a well near it. By the side of it was a stūpa built by Aśoka enshrining the relics of Buddha and marking the spot with a pillar. There were three ditches, unfathomable in their depth, one to the east of the vihāra, and two wide ditches to the south of the first ditch, one by the side of the other.

At a distance of 60 or 70 paces east of the Jetavana vihāra was another vihāra about 60 feet high, enshrining a sitting figure of Buddha. Further east was a Deva temple of equal size with the vihāra.—the temple which was no other than the one called "Shadow-covered" by Fā Hien. Three or four *li* to the east of the latter vihāra was a stūpa built in honour of Śāriputra. There was another vihāra by the side, with another stūpa in front of it, marking the spot where Buddha accepted Viśākhā's offer to build a vihāra. On the south of that stūpa was another stūpa with a tank near by marking the spot where Virūḍhaka-rāja slaughtered the Śākyā maidens.

¹ Beal's *Buddhist Records*, I, pp. xliv-xlviii.

To the north-west of Jetavana 3 or 4 li. lay the forest of Andhavana containing places where pious people built stūpas or erected posts with inscriptions.¹

There are some inscriptions, written in Nāgarī characters, to indicate that Jetavana remained a centre of Buddhism in the 8th or 9th century A.D. Even as late as the 12th century the great convent of Jetavana continued to be a centre of Buddhist learning and culture where lived a large community of Buddhist monks enjoying the royal favour of the king of Kanauj.

Thus from the days of Buddha to about the middle of the 12th century A.D. Śrāvastī with its most important establishment, the Jetavana, continued to be the centre of Buddhism linking up with it the vicissitudes of a great religion through a passage of about eighteen hundred years.

¹ Beal's *Buddhist Records*, II, pp. 1-13.

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